FAIR PLAY FOR THE WORKERS

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FAIR PLAY FOR THE WORKERS

SOME SIDES OF THEIR MALADJUSTMENT AND THE CAUSES

BY

PERCY STICKNEY GRANT

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TO

THOMAS L. CHADBOURNE

Member and Counsellor of the War Trade Board
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Tom,

When the British Munition Commission were in New York last fall, they were given a luncheon at the McAlpin, by Mayor Mitchel's Committee on National Defense, of which you were Chairman. At the luncheon Sir Stephenson Kent, K.C.B., Chairman of the British Mission, declared: "If Great Britain had had the trouble with labor America is having, it would have lost the war."

A working agreement between capital and labor for the production of munitions does not settle their controversy. Labor in Great Britain has been very loyal to its agreements; yet Mr. Arthur Henderson, on February 1, 1918, *could say that the condition of labor in Great Britain was dangerous. Something more than a truce is essential even in war time for industrial efficiency.*

As a war-time measure such knowledge and sympathy as will bring the two sides of our industrial life most completely together are necessary for national success. The present volume is an attempt to put before conservatives some of the positions of labor, from the historical point of view.

You have, perhaps, seen some of the material of this volume in the North American Review *and in a book of mine, called "Socialism and Christianity."*

May I finally say that I put your name in the front of this book as an expression of my admiration. You are a sort of superman of size and sympathy—the biggest thing I know physically, and also one of the few men of means willing to discuss the labor question on its merits—that is, without animosity. Upon the extension of this spirit, in my opinion, depend the future peace and safety of our country.

You are fond of Ralph Waldo Emerson. I am sure you will recall the following quotation from "The Progress of Culture."

"When classes are exasperated against each other, the peace of the world is always kept by striking a new note."

Sincerely yours,

PERCY STICKNEY GRANT.

Ascension Rectory
New York
March, 1918

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"The real question everywhere is whether the world, distracted and confused as everybody sees that it is, is going to be patched up and restored to what it used to be, or whether it is going forward into a quite new and different kind of life, whose exact nature nobody can pretend to foretell, but which is to be distinctly new, unlike the life of any age which the world has seen already. . . . It is impossible that the old conditions, so shaken and broken, can ever be repaired and stand just as they stood before. The time has come when something more than mere repair and restoration of the old is necessary. The old must die and a new must come forth out of its tomb."

PHILLIPS BROOKS,
Sermon, "The Light of the World."

PREFACE

The most unexpected result of the war is, perhaps, the enlarged influence of the working-classes,—an influence that after the war seems likely to increase. The people have recently emerged to new power in many countries,—in China, in Russia, in Mexico, in Great Britain, which is anxiously arranging for labor and government to proceed in closer accord, in India, to which Great Britain has sent a commission to prepare for some degree of native independence. Labor organizations in several countries communicated with each other in efforts to prevent war, or, since, to secure peace. A proposition by Socialists to hold a conference in Stockholm was considered important enough to be discouraged by the Allied Governments. The United States has appealed to the German people, over the heads of their rulers, and welcomes any sign of a revolutionary spirit. The President left Washington in war time to attend a convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Buffalo. Labor committees from Great Britain have visited us. The proletariat of most of the countries have taken a new part in war discussion and look forward to signal influence at the peace councils. This coming to the front of the workers of the world is the important news of our times.

The day of the proletariat has arrived, but America is not ready. I do not mean that anarchy, or even Socialism, is knocking at the door, or that plutocracy is packing up. A new and commanding influence to be exerted by the working-class has arisen. America is unprepared to meet the situation because it has failed, on the whole, to grasp the profounder concerns of the people's hopes and has given aristocratic status to its successful classes.

The object of this volume is to call attention to some of the consequences of our blindness to the world's deeper democratic activities and to the dawn of proletarian control. A review of a few subjects upon which the working-people have strong opinions, not well understood outside their class, may facilitate our passage from before-war to after-war times when labor will undoubtedly expect to exercise larger powers.

One reason for our plutocratic type of democracy is to be found in our religious and economic conservatism. Professor Ross discovers "will" to be the profoundest characteristic of the American colonists. American religion, politics, business, athletics are still run by "will" and its "get there" representatives. But something more is necessary than will, as, for instance, science and sympathy. The time has come for America to create a new will compacted of knowledge and love as well as of dogged resolution.

So it comes about that the real tragedy of American life is that while we live in the midst of optimistic facts we are governed by inherited pessimistic theories:—Calvin's depravity of human nature; Malthus' theory that man is too prolific for nature; Adam Smith's *laissez faire* economics, with selfishness as a stabilizer of industry. Our job is to jettison these Jonahs and to catch up with present reality.

Besides our inherited pessimism as observed in religious and political motives, the generation that came over into the twentieth century was influenced by the pessimism of some of its greatest poets. Swinburne's incomparable lyricism nevertheless yielded a depressing picture of man:

> "A silent soul led of a silent God,
> Toward sightless things led sightless."

Even Matthew Arnold got no further than to cry out bitterly:

> "But now the old is out of date,
> The new is not yet born."

Now the new *is* born and events are neither "silent" nor "sightless." The day of the people has come: clarion voices proclaim it.

We have not dreamed what can be done to prevent human woe. "Prevention" must be as signal a word as "Salvation" has been. "Alleviation," the aim of so many religious and kindly people, is a timid and hopeless word. Again, we have been pessimistic. "Human life

must be some kind of a mistake," says Schopenhauer. Not a bit of it, but man had made the mistake of accepting his miseries as essential to existence and therefore permanent, or as the mysterious will of overruling supernatural powers.

The optimistic facts of life revealed to our generation are staggering in their splendor. Take, for instance, the statement of the warden of the Colorado State Penitentiary. "In my judgment 60 per cent. of the sane, able-bodied men now confined in the penal institutions, both State and Federal, of the United States, are trustworthy, and if properly handled can be made available for work anywhere in the United States. Our experience in handling honor men at the Colorado State Penitentiary proves this beyond question. Of course, there are the other 40 per cent. who are mentally defective and truly dangerous from whom society must protect itself."

Or, turn to the subject of industrial accident, where it has been thought that the human element was possibly more responsible than any other and could not be controlled.

"Spend enough upon the engineering problems and serious and fatal accidents will be very largely eliminated. What is the limit of reduction in severe and fatal cases? The possibilities of improvement in physical conditions are almost unlimited. It is possible to conceive industry conducted under conditions so safe that the occur-

rence of severe injury will excite the same surprise that its absence now does." *

Two-thirds of the insane in the country need not have been insane. One-half the sick in the country need never have been brought to their beds. Much of what we have called crime is found to be due to physical and mental defects, and of the 300,000 defectives in the country, perhaps one-half of them can be greatly improved. Psychotherapy, as seen in Christian Science, the Emmanuel Movement, Psychoanalysis, and in other mental healing, has opened a sunlit door. The ancestry of many of the fears and superstitions which worry and weaken human nature is now so plainly revealed that they should be easily removed. The power of environment is discerned with increasing and fresh illustration. For instance, the Insurance Act in England is not meeting full expectations because whatever may be the better medication or sanitorium treatment of the sick poor, they have to return to housing and neighborhood conditions that largely undo the result of their medical treatment, while the agricultural laborers of England, whatever their economic misfortunes, are physically the best.

Speaking of modern welfare work Jane Addams says: "The moral basis of all these movements is the excellence of human nature under decent conditions." Captain F. J. Moore, writing to the

* *Monthly Review* of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, August, 1917, p. 15.

London *Nation* about religion in the trenches, says that the war has revealed to the world at large, and not least to the men themselves, that goodness, and not evil, is the "original" thing in human nature. "No matter how they drink or how they swear, or whatever they do, there is a nobler self beneath it all capable of a sacrifice like the cross." The *Literary Digest* (September 15, 1917) sums it up: "Original sin has been replaced by original goodness." (Exit Calvin.)

Professor Patten proves that we are living in a surplus, not in a deficit civilization. Lester Ward shows that production increases as the square of the hands employed. (Exit Malthus.)

We find that changed social ideas produce changed economic theories. In our time, democratic common sense is deciding that human personality must be built up, not destroyed, by economic processes; that wages must serve individual welfare and social need. (Exit Adam Smith. Enter Jesus.)

In the midst of this optimism of fact, this opulence and self-curing power of nature, how pitiable those lugubrious but convenient economic theories by which men strengthen themselves in tyrannies over their fellows or justify riding upon their backs! "Life," says Nietzsche, "is that which must ever surpass itself." May I dare to offer as the method by which life is able to surpass itself, the impulse to clarity—to know the meaning of things—as the pledge of progress.

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I

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS AND FOREIGN WAR

"Great economic and social forces flow with tidal sweep over communities only half conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen are those who foresee what time is thus bringing, and try to shape institutions and to mould men's thought and purpose in accordance with the change that is silently surrounding them."

Viscount Morley's Recollections, Vol. I., p. 143.

"There are two aims that to my mind should be steadily kept in view, and constantly applied as crucial tests to all schemes and proposals which deal with reconstruction. They sound commonplace enough, but they go to the root of the matter. The first is that we shall need a largely increased production year by year of national wealth. The second that we must see to it that as among the producers there is a fairer distribution of the yield."

Mr. Asquith's War-Aims Speech, December 11, 1917.

CHAPTER I

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS AND FOREIGN WAR

ONE of the significant cartoons produced by our declaration of war represents Uncle Sam, in the costume of a frontiersman, taking down from over the chimney-piece his musket and powderhorn, as he remarks: "Gosh! I had so many other things to do!"

These "other things" are home things—Uncle Sam's dream of domestic happiness; for he has near-by and pressing matters, has Uncle Sam, which concern the prosperity and contentment of his people.

Perhaps he was thinking of the exodus of the negroes from the South that in volume and economic moment may rank with the great migrations of history.

Or, he may have been brooding on the battle raging in San Francisco between the labor unions and the business interests with their $1,000,000 war fund—a conflict illuminated by the threat of the workers that labor leaders condemned to death shall not die.

Uncle Sam may have had in mind his neglected

farms, "Where four-fifths of the area of the large holdings," one of his commissions tells him, "is being kept out of use by their 50,000 large owners, while 2,250,000 farmers are struggling for a mere existence on farms of less than fifty acres," and only a little over half of the land on farms is improved.

Or, was Uncle Sam worrying about a wasteful nation going to war, adding military destruction to its economic destruction which is equal annually to the capital of all its banks?

Did he have before his eyes the vision of additions to his huge list of incapacitated—before the war a daily "sick list" of three million out of which come half the outcries of American destitution?

Without doubt the race question, the labor question, the land question, conservation and the health question, are some of the "other things" that war seemed at first glance to postpone.

Not only do home matters slide out of minds absorbed in the war zone; but patriotic citizens feel that domestic problems ought to be forgotten during the war as a measure of the nation's sacrifice and also as a means of necessary concentration for overseas success.

But we cannot, if we would, leave our domestic problems behind us when we join our allies. What we are in Europe depends upon what we are in America. A foreign war reveals domestic weaknesses. Every man on the firing-line requires

from four to six persons behind the firing-line to keep him supplied. The army is the whole people. If we forget or postpone home problems we become bad soldiers in the field.

The fact is that during the war we must pay more attention than ever to home conditions. Every fighting nation has been weakened by labor difficulties, and has found itself forced to deal inopportunely with the most fundamental social and economic questions. By anticipating the claims of our own internal problems we may save ourselves fatal weakness in a world crisis.

Without a positive social polity, we shall, at any rate, be the victims of reactionary attack. Already under the guise of war-need the old crew which fruitlessly fought liberal laws have besieged legislatures to destroy recent safeguards thrown around the workers. The hours of labor for men, women, and children are attacked; the length of the school year; the full crew bill; the La Follette Seaman's Act. In the State of New York by the permissive shortening of the school year the Empire State actually mobilized child labor before it mobilized its army.

Gains in social legislation must not be lost; they are national assets, not class advantages; they are "good business." For the labor question is not merely an irritating militancy between employer and employee, in which the worker occasionally wins privileges—recovered perhaps later by the

bosses—but having no permanent public significance, no general gain or loss.

The labor question is concerned with human conservation and race effectiveness. The triumph of labor is the triumph of humanity in its very flesh and blood. A relapse now in labor legislation is war's home harvest in flesh and blood—war's preventable losses behind the firing-line. Consequently, any retreat during the time of war into older and restricted economic usages, is not only a matter of dangerous precedent to labor—the setting aside perhaps for years of its hard-won verdict—but it is a dangerous prerogative resumed by capital upon an utter misunderstanding of the labor problem.

Centralization Demands Transformation

There are other reasons why during the war we cannot escape the consideration of domestic problems. The centralization necessary in war time for intensive national life means automatically much domestic transformation, especially in an individualistic country like America. To accomplish successfully this socializing of our citizens will demand sympathetic and profound study of the domestic situation. Secretary Lane's remark to coal operators in Washington, in June, 1917, is not to American ears axiomatic and will require elucidation and cogitation. "To be an American citizen today is not to have the right to make a

million dollars, but the right to live up to the demands of democratic ideals, and to sacrifice for it."

Shall we not also discover like the other fighting nations that the minds of the soldiers at the front turn backward upon the domestic situation? They have time in the trenches to think. Their thought on the whole has been revolutionary. The men who are fighting in France are asking searching questions about religion, politics, business—about their own futures,—which forebode social reconstruction. They are revolving fundamental problems. Such mental ferment among the soldiers themselves, prophesies domestic change.

Two of our allies, Russia and France, are probably more advanced than we are in democratic ideals. A new light upon home problems is likely to dawn upon American soldiers when they learn from observation the radical economic views of the French, to say nothing of the more influential political position held by the English working-classes. Our armies will return home more critical of our way of doing things than when they left our shores. Won't it be well for us—the home-stayers—to try to keep pace in our development with the men at the front?

There is also the reflex action upon industrial and political organization of the new relationship between officers and men in our proposed gigantic armies—a more democratic relationship. In the

English army Donald Hankey saw a new democracy developed from the confidence that officers and men learned to have in each other. He believed that a better spirit between employers and employees will be produced as a result of this war-time experience. The ordinary labor conditions in which the employer complains of his men as being ungrateful and the men are suspicious of their employers as being exploiters, may be modified in the future by a new human relationship of mutual sympathy and dependence, like the confidence and pride felt for each other by officers and men in the face of a powerful enemy.

Schooled by war this new working democracy which embodies discipline and authority, which at all hazards must create efficiency, mutual help, and high spirit, may make a decided contribution to the industrial peace of the future when armies, so inspired, are again scattered through the nation's economic organization.

America Is in the Rapids of Social Revolution

But it is a waste of time to marshal reasons for paying special attention during the war to domestic conditions, as though what is done in America depended upon argument. As a matter of fact, social revolution has overtaken the domestic affairs of the warring nations. Mr. Stephen McKenna, nephew of the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, said in an interview in

New York the middle of May, 1917: "England has had changes amounting in effect to a social revolution as the result of the war and America will probably experience much the same thing."

America by going to war has entered the rapids of social revolution and must eventually come out into the intense liberalism of awakening Europe. Who knows! If America makes haste to learn what Europe can teach, she may perhaps be saved dislocation of her own.

The difficulty with radical change in America is that it has not been foreshadowed by general sympathetic attention. We have not had the same historical or pressing reasons that Europe has had for social analysis and criticism. For instance, we have not in America experienced in an impressive way the feudal system, or since our independence had a hereditary ruler. We have not had the problems incident to powerful political neighbors with boundless national ambitions to force us either to farsighted diplomacy or to an internal defensive organization. We have not had serious social or religious disturbances; or we have blindly or good-naturedly ignored them.

Even the problems that we share in common with Europe have been largely banished as incredible in our idealistic republic. We have claimed to have no class distinctions. We have treated capitalism as a finality, not as a stepping stone on the road of general progress. We

have supposed political democracy to be the limit of democracy and we have fancied America *hors concours* in any exhibit of free institutions. Any criticism of America's brand of democracy is resented as an insult to the flag. Any suggestion as to betterment seems a slap in the face to the successful American—his courage, his initiative—and consequently merely a scheme for putting beggars on horseback.

Nor are we prepared to sympathize with Europe's awakening liberalism by parallel economic studies of our own. In our war preparation, so far, we have gone against American individualistic traditions because we have largely followed France and England. In so doing we are governed by practical considerations and do not understand the economic implications of our war socialization. We cannot, therefore, be too well informed about our domestic problems or consider them too much at this time. Not only are they very much a part of our war success, but at the conclusion of the war, social readjustments can only be accomplished smoothly by a new intelligence as to their principles and bearing.

The National and Social Conflicts

We must finally remember that there are two conflicts going on at the same time—a conflict of nations and a conflict of classes—the international conflict and the social conflict. The social conflict

will not call a truce during the national conflict because it cannot. This social conflict is not projected by a nameless unrest but by the vital urge of existence in the actual affairs of daily life which demands of every man that he secure for himself and his family all possible opportunity for growth, which will be his contribution to race progress.

On deeper analysis it will be found that these two conflicts—the social and the national—are one; that they are at bottom economic and have to do with ideals for larger human betterment. Feudalism, autocracy, militarism, imperialism, democracy, are methods of organization for securing human advantage. America is backing the proposition that in the world of today democracy is of wider, richer advantage to mankind than preceding forms of racial or national organization. We are further undertaking to prove that, after all, the highest loyalty is not a man's loyalty to the person of a prince, but his loyalty to his brother-man and to the principles of fellowship.

We cannot keep the inner and the outer apart in government any more than we can in people. Attention to domestic problems becomes more excited in times of war, which is like the hand on a kaleidoscope, turning things as we look, into new arrangement. Run over in your mind for a moment some of the internal changes the war has produced.

A change in the modern industrial system has

been supposed to be so infinitely difficult and hazardous that it could only be compassed slowly and even if soon begun could only after generations be consummated.

English economists are surprised at the short time required to change their industrial organization from individual to governmental management and from industrial to military production. "In an extraordinarily short time," says Professor Pigou, "the business and industrial community has changed front and altered its formation in conformity with new conditions."

War has brought Europe greater efficiency in railroading by government management; it has made of production, conservation, and distribution, once a speculation, a mathematical problem; it has increased skilled labor and brought up into the ranks of thrifty toil classes thrown into crime by unemployment; it has shown clearly that long hours and bad sanitation for laboring men, women, and children lessen production, destroy physique, and are "bad business"; it has shown that the safety of the state depends upon the loyalty and intelligent co-operation of labor; it has put new value upon large families; upon the working-class, and upon youth. In short, every function that nineteenth-century political liberalism claimed must be left to the individual in order to insure national well-being, has, during the war, been assumed and has been administered successfully by the state.

A notable aspect of the Great War is the extent to which the countries engaged are officially and unofficially making preparations for peace,—mercantile, industrial, political preparation—not in order to bring about peace but, when peace is declared, to start the race anew in better condition. While at war the nations are training for peace. In England innumerable committees, governmental and private, are canvassing the wages, organizations, and housing of labor and how to associate it with government as never before. In America we did not like the maxim "in time of peace prepare for war." Why not, then, adopt the new maxim "In time of war prepare for peace"?

II

THE WORKER'S LOST STATUS AND HIS UNREST

"A nation habituated to *think* in terms of problems and of the struggle to remedy them before it is actually in the grip of the forces which create the problems, would have an equipment for public life such as has not characterized any people."

JOHN DEWEY,
The New Republic, May 6, 1916, p. 16.

And therefore today is thrilling
With a past day's late fulfilling;
  And the multitudes are enlisted
  In the faith that their fathers resisted.
And scorning the dream of tomorrow,
  And bringing to pass, as they may,
In the world, for its joy or its sorrow,
  The dream that was scorned yesterday.

ARTHUR O'SHAUGHNESSY.

"In every government the laws of education ought to be in relation to the principles of that government."

MONTESQUIEU,
Democracy in America, Book IV.

"The more one sees of this war, the more one is inclined to the belief that its real significance lies behind the battle lines rather than on them."

"The inner significance of this war has to do with the emancipation of labor, just as the inner significance of that of a hundred years ago had to do with the emancipation of the shopkeeper—who has since become a plutocrat!"

From "Unrest Behind the Lines,"
WINSTON CHURCHILL,
N. Y. Times Magazine, December 2, 1917.

CHAPTER II

THE WORKER'S LOST STATUS AND HIS UNREST

ONE danger that threatens our democracy is our ignorance about its problems. This dangerous ignorance is due to many causes. The eighteenth-century doctrinaire notion that democracy means a return to nature and therefore to a simpler and easier social organization: the misleading assumption from our Declaration of Independence, that the maintenance of personal political freedom is a sufficient aim of the state: our unwillingness to recognize economic necessity as an undercurrent in social and political matters: our obstinate insistence that America contained no classes when it is of the very nature of economic development to stratify society: the control of our press and its censorship of unpleasant industrial facts: the suppression in universities of economic liberalism: the absence among our student bodies of vital attention to current industrial problems,—all of these American characteristics have contributed to democracy's ignorance of its own problems.

There are, however, direct sources of fresh and

reliable information from which the public should hear. One of these is the conservative labor press, which prints careful and full accounts of labor conditions, strikes, and court proceedings.* Another is the social worker, generally a college graduate, who is in and out of the families of the poor. Another is the missionary, who usually has years of experience in a special locality and is its expert. Another is the Open Forum, where eager-minded working-people—students of social problems—discuss them with a knowledge and an oratorical power which often paralyzes and silences their opponents of the educated classes.

The condition and need of America as revealed by such sources of information are alarmingly different from the generally conceived picture; they largely account for the radicalism of social workers, many clergymen, and some college professors, as well as the secret revolt of many employees in the financial districts of our great cities.

A Republic Demands Omniscience

A republic, as a self-governing state, must demand of its sovereign citizens something of that omniscience we used to laugh about as impersonated in the Kaiser and Mr. Roosevelt. For an American citizen it is a moment of startled awakening when he becomes alive to the fact that

* For a list of labor newspapers, etc., see Appendix.

if the republic is to last he must in very truth be sovereign. This he cannot be without an education in the subjects upon which democratic security depends. For instance, he must be better educated in the history of economics if he is to reply successfully to those discontented voices heard asserting, since we published our idealistic reasons for going to war, that there is more democracy in Europe than in America.

The National Economic League's program for 1917 contained a list of subjects for special consideration arranged in an order of importance indicated by the preferential votes of its members. There were forty-one subjects and on an average half a dozen sub-topics under each head. Here, then, are two hundred and fifty subjects of imperative importance for Americans. Let me name a few to test the reader's readiness upon vital current problems.

1. National Defense (Preparedness (Military, Naval, Economic, Financial, Industrial, Commercial, Social). Universal Compulsory Military Training and Service. Limitation of Armaments. Disarmament, etc. The Peril of Militarism).

2. International Peace (Enforcement of Peace, International Organization to Maintain Peace, the League to Enforce Peace, Peace Terms, Promoting International Friendship, the True Basis of Lasting Peace, etc.).

3. International Relations (America's Foreign Policy, the Monroe Doctrine, Our Relations with South

America and the Orient. America's Rights and Obligations. The Problem of Mexico).

4. American Merchant Marine (American Shipping Laws).

5. Labor Problem (Relation Between Employers and Workmen, Labor and Capital, Strikes, Wages, Hours, Unemployment, Poverty).

6. Education (the Public Schools, a National System of Education. Ethical, Religious, Civic, and Moral Training in Public Schools. The Press. Motion Pictures).

7. Conservation (Conservation and Development of Natural Resources, Economic Wastes, Conservation of Human Life, Public Health, Industrial and Personal Efficiency, Conservation of the Public Interests).

8. Efficiency and Economy in Government (Reform of Federal Finance Through Budget Control. Excessive Appropriations for Post Office Buildings. Preparedness).

9. Administration of Justice (Law Reform. The Judiciary. The Encroachment of the Legislative upon the Judicial Department of Government. Separation of Politics from the Judiciary).

10. Taxation and Tax Reforms (National, State, Municipal, Taxation of Land Values, Incomes and Inheritances, etc.).

How many high school boys, or even college graduates, could secure a mark of fifty per cent. if examined on these questions?

The National Economic League's study program for 1918 is even more difficult.

Employers "Forget" the Human Element

Little attempt seems to be made by employers in America to understand either the human element or the economic problems involved in the labor movement. The whole matter is "unrest"; the only way out is for capital to stand pat. Mr. Theodore Shonts, President of the Interborough Railroad Company of New York, addressed as follows the students of Drake University, Iowa, June 12, 1912:

"The spirit of unrest is abroad. It is a universal sign of the times. Nor is it confined to this land alone; it is world-wide. That country is no longer considered the best governed which governs the least. The cry is for universal governmental activity. Whether it be called socialism, collectivism, communism, municipal operation, or government ownership, the result is the same. The community itself must run the individual and provide for his wants while the individual sinks into a helpless unit, incapable of upholding the stability of the very government which he designs to nourish his common wants."

Members of the State Factory Investigation Committee of New York openly declared from public platforms that "in the factories of the city and State the human element is pretty much forgotten." But this is just the field labor wishes to control—not the mercantile but the human.

An astounding illustration of the forgetfulness by business men of the human side of their under-

takings came to light in connection with our shipbuilding program. Hundreds of millions of dollars were appropriated; great contracts were signed; shipyards were built or enlarged—but no ships were forthcoming. Those responsible for all this outlay, it was discovered, had not thought it worth while to provide housing for the laborers who were to give life to this enormous stagnant investment.

The significance of labor's unrest is far-reaching. It does not mean merely that labor believes itself entitled to a larger share of production and to better sanitary shop and home conditions; labor's unrest means that modern industrial life was organized without taking into account what the worker had to say about it and that in consequence we have a broken-winged industrial machine and a deceptive political order.

The Rise of the Proletariat

Feudalism gave the serf food, shelter, and clothing in exchange for his labor and his military service. The serf had his stated place. He was a small partner in the concern and shared its profits. The wage system gives the laborer nothing but the right to compete for a job. In times of war the state can take over the worker's industrial or military services; but in times of peace it does not insure him subsistence. The worker is merely an economic buffer between the comfort-

able classes and any tightening of economic pressure,—that is to say, bad times and starvation. He is the sop thrown to the Cerberus of capitalistic mismanagement. When things go wrong and hard times come, a few million laborers are thrown out of work and their families are put on short rations, which often means on none at all, until by this means business has saved enough and thrift, the semi-starvation of those still working, has put by enough for a new speculative drive. Radical workers call themselves "wage slaves."

To be able to give sympathetic attention to the labor question one should be acquainted not only with the present-day facts which make a strong sentimental appeal, but with characteristic legislation in England and America after the Industrial Revolution of the last half of the eighteenth century. Still further back he should see the source from which the modern proletariat is originally derived in the break-up of feudalism, the discovery of America, the expropriation of guilds and of estates by new political power after the Reformation.

Such a look backward is far from an academic treatment of our subject; it shows the servile history of labor; it discloses centuries of momentum behind the labor movement; it reveals misfortunes that one portion of the community should not bear alone; it confirms the impossibility of a return into older and more autocratic forms.

King Canute sweeping back the tide is a pic-

ture of an industrial magnate that thinks to stay by force the creeping tide of proletarian advance which has gained in mass and momentum for at least five hundred years.

The word proletariat—discordant, with good right, to American ears—must, after all, be considered not as a name for a vague and small body of sophisticated malcontents in the labor movement, but for a great army upon a long and patient march.

In England from the Conquest onward for nearly three hundred years there was, in our sense of the word, no labor problem. In England the guild system with its apprentices, journeymen, and master craftsmen, did not develop large bodies of workmen. A journeyman could easily set up for himself after his apprenticeship and become a master craftsman, take into his house an apprentice or two, or a young journeyman or two. At any rate, the size of his domestic quarters and afterwards law limited the labor groups. He could not employ women except his wife or his daughters and there was no night work.

"There were, therefore," says Professor Ashley, "no collisions between 'capital and labor,' though there might be occasional quarrels between individuals. The hard-working journeyman expected to be able in a few years to become an independent master; and while he remained a journeyman there was no social gulf

between himself and his employer. They worked in the same shop, side by side, and the servant probably earned at least half as much as his master.'' *

Nor was speculation allowed to advance prices and so reduce the purchasing value of the workman's earnings. Professor Ashley quotes a graphic illustration of the community's protection of itself: ''John-at-Wood, baker, was charged before the common sergeant with the following offense: 'Whereas one Robert de Cawode had two quarters of wheat for sale in common market on the Pavement within Newgate, he, the said John, cunningly and by secret words whispering in his ear, fraudulently withdrew Cawode out of the common market; and they went together into the Church of the Friars Minor, and there John bought the two quarters at 15½d. per bushel, being 2½d. over the common selling price at that time in the market; to the great loss and deceit of the common people, and to the increase of the dearness of corn.' At-Wood denied the offense, and 'put himself on the country.' Thereupon a jury of the venue of Newgate was empaneled, who gave as verdict that At-Wood had not only thus bought the corn, but had afterwards returned to the market, and boasted of his misdoing; 'this he said and did to increase the dearness of corn.' Accordingly he was sentenced to be

* "Economic History and Theory," W. J. Ashley, p. 94.

put into the pillory for three hours, and one of the sheriffs was directed to see the sentence executed and proclamation made of the cause of his punishment." *

A "labor class" appeared in England as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. Among artificers there were men who could not look forward to being master craftsmen, owing to the superfluity of labor and the growing power of capital. Landlords, too, changed tillage to pasture and turned families off the land. The "working-class" and the "labor question" are considerations that had to be dealt with in England by legislation as early as 1450, from which time the seriousness of the problem has increased.

"Through the breaking up of the feudal houses with their numerous retainers," says Kirkup, "through the transformation of the old peasant-holdings into extensive sheep-runs and generally through the prevalent application of the commercial system to the management of the land, instead of the Catholic and feudal spirit, the peasantry were driven off the land; a multitude of people, totally destitute of property, were thrown loose from their old means of livelihood and were reduced to vagabondage or forced into towns. It was in this way that the modern proletariat made their tragic entry into history." †

The Industrial Revolution increased the ranks

* "Economic History and Theory," W. J. Ashley, p. 184.
† "A History of Socialism," Thomas Kirkup, p. 133.

of the proletariat. The steam engine, the power loom, the spinning jenny, and the cotton gin developed a factory system which took the tools of production out of the hands of the workers and put machinery, capital, and its combination into the hands of the masters. The public turbulence and multiplication of crimes incident to this economic change can be judged by the increasing number of offenses which in England was visited with capital punishment from 1750-1799. At the end of the century there were 200. In the same year that England had so great a number of capital offenses she forbade labor to combine. In the year she refused to repeal a law which hanged an apprentice for stealing four shillings from his master, England deprived the laborer of old usages that mitigated wage grievances. Into the proletarian army were flung men, women, and children of old cottage industries. Poorhouse children were contracted for and sold like cattle.

The French Revolution and the English Reform Bill did not emancipate the workers. These were revolutions of the capitalistic and mercantile classes against the control of feudal lords and the clergy—they were bourgeois advantages, not proletarian. The people were left out.

The Communistic Manifesto of 1848 and the repeal in 1871 of the English laws against combinations of workmen can be considered dates which mark the rise of the modern labor movement in

Germany and England—that is, the definite and intelligent determination of the modern working-classes to secure industrial power, to become an integral part—in fact, a partner—in the modern business organization.

Is it a wonder that the proletariat, these workers, outcasts from the regard and care of the powerful, should be somewhat indifferent to any nationalism that opposes socializing the state? "That," as August Boeckh and Lassalle taught, "we must widen our notion of the state so as to believe that the state is the institution in which the whole virtue of humanity should be realized."

Working-men Must Combine

The labor question appears in a new light the moment one sees that an individual working-man is no match, in bargaining, for a corporation; that is to say, no match for the expert financiers and lawyers who generally represent important corporations. Even in his home the working-man is not much of a financier; for he leaves the spending of his money, as do the other wage-earners of the family, to the wife and mother who is the family treasurer and bargainer.

Working-men must combine, at any rate, for collective bargaining; and this combination, once effected, leads to a use of trade-unions in many beneficial directions.

In spite of the industrial feebleness of the individual working-man, English and American laws have not encouraged combinations of labor. Labor has been discouraged; capital has been encouraged. In 1799 in England, a law was passed forbidding working-men to organize for any purpose. In 1813 an English law, which had permitted justices of the peace to raise wages in a certain list of occupations when in their opinion conditions warranted such increase, was repealed. In 1814, the apprenticeship adjustment of labor standards was done away with, "labor being then left without any measure of protection at all." *

The effect of these laws was to reduce the earning power of men and consequently to increase the number of women and children forced into English industries. This happened at a time when steam power and the new factory system were destroying domestic occupations. The result was that mills, running as many as fifteen hours a day, collected men, women, and children under one roof, where unwholesome conditions helped to lay the foundation for the wretched physique, ignorance, and slum life which one hundred years of English philanthropy have not corrected. "Only after twenty-five years of agitation were the hours of a child of nine in the factory limited to sixty-nine a week by the law of 1825." † The uncontrolled and misunderstood

* D. H. Macgregor, "The Evolution of Industry," p. 65.
† *Ibid.*, p. 66.

growth of cities assisted the industrial forces destructive to human health.

In spite of the enlargement of the English franchise, English working-men did not receive, in their attempts at self-help, much political assistance until 1869. Combinations of working-men were illegal if not criminal. It was not until well into the present century that a parliamentary committee reported favorably on trade-unionism and even recommended its encouragement.

In the United States, the first use of combination by the workers was for specific and temporary purposes. Opposition to these early, sporadic but successful strikes was marked by the first trial of journeymen for conspiracy in 1806. After this for nearly a quarter of a century American labor organizations had to exist under the guise of secret and benefit societies. Only when the working-men's societies, founded in the various trades, came together and formed a representative body did they have the power openly to brave the opposition of the employers. The first trade-union in America, organized in Philadelphia in 1827, antedated the first English organization by two years.

In America, the working-man, in his efforts toward wider industrial influence through trade-unionism, is still fought directly and indirectly by his employer. Labor organizations are fought secretly and publicly by employers' associations.

Capital, in England, was not only strength-

ened by the acts which weakened labor, but by direct legislation—as, for instance, the Joint Stock Acts, from 1844-1862. Owners of small capital were given the right to combine and at the same time a limited liability.

The Workingman Has Been Disfranchised Industrially

The result of these laws which repress the natural effort of labor in its own behalf, taken together with the economic theory that labor is nothing but a commodity under the laws of supply and demand, have destroyed the former status possessed by the toiler under feudalism. The modern contract idea of his relationship to industry has not restored him to an integral place in our social economy. In the light of this displacement of the working-man, as a factor in the real control of the modern system, must be viewed his conscious or unconscious striving for a "say" in the industrial management of his job. For he will not get back into the position he has lost until his voice has a recognized legal place in the industrial organization of his time. This is the explanation of his unrest—he has lost his economic equilibrium and is frantically trying to regain it. Some of his artless assumptions, so ridiculous to the capitalistic class, so exasperating to the public, so troublesome to the police and the courts, are pathetic attempts to recapture his lost status. For instance, when on strike, he will not

permit a non-union man to accept the job he left. A non-union man who acts as a strike-breaker is "disloyal to the working-class," is "a traitor," "a scab." The union man has a theory that the job belongs to him whether he is working at it or not: that if he strike, the job must be left open pending the union's settlement of the dispute. His demands for shop committees before whom a question involving the dismissal of working-men must come, and all other methods of asserting his influence over a given industry, to say nothing of the legislation he fights for, are only the efforts of a class outside the breastworks of economic control to gain re-admittance. In short, the working-man of today has been robbed, by the modern commercial and factory system, of what may be called his industrial franchise possessed under an earlier system; he agitates and strikes to recover industrial enfranchisement.

Philanthropy Cannot Remedy Social Maladjustment

Meanwhile the ills incident to this subjugation of the working-class have been ameliorated by philanthropy, which appeals to the rich not only as an expression of *noblesse oblige,* but as an obligation and custom of Christianity.

But philanthropy is practically played out. Needs multiply faster than the philanthropic funds. The increase of philanthropic institutions adds to their inefficiency. Philanthropic so-

cieties spring up like mushrooms over night. Volunteer associations without number exist in churches, synagogues, settlements, unofficially in the army and navy, and in associations of teachers, firemen, policemen. They are so numerous that they tread upon each other. The Charities Directory of New York State contains 458 pages of closely printed matter. Nothing needs more co-ordination and reorganization than our philanthropies. Mr. Wilbur C. Phillips' "Unit" system, now being tried out in Cincinnati, hopes to affect this needed unification. But complete reorganization would mean assimilation with the industrial order,—nothing less than the destruction of philanthropy as such and the emergence of its expected benefits by means of higher social justice. Every increase in philanthropic machinery delays the natural tendency in democracy to take upon itself responsibility for unfortunate conditions incident to its existence. Social maladjustment cannot be remedied by personal gratuities. In serious crises philanthropy breaks down and acknowledges defeat. For example, in its attempt to deal with the unemployed in the winter of 1913, and its response to hungry women and children in the spring of 1917. Democracy must bear the expenses of its own accidents.

There is another reason for the collapse of philanthropy. Charity does not return to the worker that part of the value of his labor which is taken from him by the exploitation of capital.

The surplus profit, which goes not to his pocket but to that of the employer, is often dissipated by extravagance and waste. A pitiably small percentage of this surplus profit returns, in the form of philanthropy, to the workers, who, to make both ends meet, should have received it in the first place as a just recompense of their toil. The draining off of the value given by labor to material; the destruction of much of this value and the return of very little of it as philanthropy, increases the condition of destitution faster than philanthropic funds can possibly meet the need. Philanthropic distribution is always smaller than wage inadequacy.

"Get off Our Backs"

In addition to this inevitable and increasing disparity between the classes due to the wage system, we must remember that in the last twenty years, in fact, up to the beginning of the war, while money wages had somewhat increased, their purchasing power had diminished to such an extent that real wages had dropped. Moreover, according to the United States census, the ratio between production and wasteful competition has been widening, which means that the majority of the country have been more and more living on the productive energies of the minority of the country.

This situation explains the outcry of working-

men to idle capitalists, "Get off our backs." The struggle of the working-class to bear this burden of the privileged class naturally has its limit, as all strength has its limit. It is only a question of time, then, when the space between great fortunes and working-man's income will represent such a disparity as to be intolerable. Less than one-half of one per cent. of the population in 1915 had an income of over $3,000 a year. "The wage rates of four-fifths of the males fall below $750; a third below $500." *

The Bureau of Personal Service of the Board of Estimate in New York reported to Mayor Mitchel the minimum on which a family of five could live in New York in 1917 as being $980, compared with $840 in 1915.

The report, signed by George L. Tirrell, director of the Bureau, classified the objects of expenditure into eight standard groups with the following expenditure allotment:

	1915	1917
Housing	$168.00	$168.00
Carfare	30.30	30.30
Food	383.812	492.388
Clothing	104.20	127.10
Fuel and Light	42.75	46.75
Health	20.00	20.00
Insurance	22.88	22.88
Sundries	73.00	73.00
Total per year	$844.942	$980.418

* Scott Nearing, "Income," p. 106. Published in 1915.

The sundries are classified as follows: Papers and other reading matter, $5; recreation, $40; furniture, moving expenses, etc., $18; church dues, $5; and incidentals, soap, washing materials, stamps, etc., $5.

The estimates are made for a man, his wife, a boy thirteen years old, a girl ten years old, and a boy six years old.

Of the housing situation the report says:

"A family of five needs at least four rooms to meet the demands of decency. Rent in the tenement districts at present as in 1915, according to the statements of real estate men, averages $4 per room per month."

Of course, it is to be remembered that at any time the cost of living in New York is higher than in any other part of the country. Estimates for other sections made by competent committees place the many requirements to support a family of five in time of peace as low as $750, or even $680. The more significant fact, however, is that four-fifths of our male industrial workers in normal times do not receive enough to meet the expenses of their families upon a basis of even $750.

A New Tendency—Personality Fixes Wages

The tendency today, therefore, in fixing wages is to depend upon a new idea—the theory of personal values and the need of the individual for

such income as shall produce the normal development of personality. This standard of wages is surely a far cry from labor as a commodity or from the iron laws of wages—even from supply and demand that for generations operated in England and America. It substitutes intelligent provision in place of the *laissez faire* doctrine which maintains that as each individual benefited himself by the exercise of intense but enlightened industrial selfishness, he was also benefiting mankind. Now the question is, How do wages affect personality? Under the old theory of wages the slum was as natural as the hills; under the new theory the slum is hell.

The proletarian is sneered at for the number of children who see the light of day in his family. In fact, the word proletarian in its original significance means a person who has nothing else to bequeath to the state except children (*proles* means offspring or progeny). On the other hand, in a time of war or economic emergency, the state turns to the working-class and to their children in almost an agony of fear, to compare the nation's man and woman power with that of its enemies or competitors.

The bearing of children should be treated with enough respect by a community whose life depends upon it to accord to parents at least honorable mention, and to bestow upon children the best physical, mental, and industrial equipment. At present, the industrial army, which we have

discovered must supply in time of war the military establishment in the field, is left to wallow.

Peace Depends upon the Proletariat

Fair play for the worker—which is nothing but social justice—goes even further than advantage to the state. It is the basis of international peace. No league to enforce peace can be successful when the nations concerned have vastly different forms of government. This is the difficulty with a federation of nations which contain conflicting forms of organization. Imagine a United States of Europe with their present governments. There is no common denominator. Sultan, kaiser, emperor, or king will always have dynastic ambitions and immediate family plans which will be supreme guides to conduct rather than the interests of his subjects. Nor can monarchical programs, continually asserting and protecting their prerogatives, match popular industrial needs. Instead of industrial justice, the hereditary monarch will offer makeshift measures to dilute current difficulties and postpone the fundamental solution of deep social problems.

Lord Bryce himself sees for Germany no enduring peace until the people change their government. The historian of the Roman Empire can see peace in Europe only when ambition to reanimate that imperial idea has perished.

There can be no permanent peace between ab-

solute government and popular government. Democracy can make no reliable alliance with monarchs even when they are hard-working. Everything in civilized countries today, therefore, depends upon the proletariat. Permanent peace among European nations can only be brought about when the people overthrow their hereditary rulers. Democracies, at any rate, can understand each other, better than they can understand monarchies or than monarchies can understand them.

One cannot, however, shut his eyes to the fact that after monarchical government is abolished and political democracy established, there still remain within political democracy the problems and dangers of capitalism and plutocratic control. But even these can be more intelligently faced and more readily met when the entire attention of civilization is concentrated upon them and is not diverted or beguiled by the problem of hereditary rule.

A Growing Reaction Against Democracy

In the face of these reasons I have mentioned for greater industrial justice, for fair play for the worker, we have in this country a growing reaction against democracy. Perhaps this can be indicated by an editorial in the New York *Times,* before we entered the war, which characterizes the efforts of working-people to secure opportunities for expressing their views and for

studying questions that vitally concern their welfare as "a tremendous pother about free speech":

> "If community forums are to be set up, the responsible part of the community must have a hand in them." They must not be left to the "circulators of perilous or crazed opinion,"

—what opinions are perilous or crazed being the very point at issue and the object of debate.

The universities as well as the press are reactionary. An able article in the *New Republic* (Feb. 17, 1917), signed "A Professor," and discussing the subject of faculty meetings, says:

> "Majority vote is almost always reactionary. Discarded theories and practices hold sway longest in faculty gatherings. . . . Dogmatizing becomes the rule."

The universities in denying platforms to radical speakers are intensifying the mistakes of their curriculums. They might, at least, allow radical criticism to arouse in their students questions never so easily answered as while under the college discipline of intellectual attention, when close at hand are some of the greatest living authorities to guide students to answers which are historically and scientifically approved.

Educational opportunities are insulted when students are not permitted to discuss social questions until after college days, when in the

stress of business and politics they are brought face to face with grave problems they were never introduced to in the classroom, which they must settle alone, one at a time, when, perhaps, personal and national welfare are at stake.

To doubt the ability of the people to make contribution to any discussion of current questions is to be ignorant of the mind of the people and of their ability. Groups of working-men that I meet are vastly cleverer than the average college graduate in the marshaling of facts, in the powers of statement, and in vivid speech. The colleges can well be warned that if they do not give another turn to their education, their graduates will find themselves at an enormous disadvantage in the economic struggles of the future when confronted by a self-educated proletariat.

Parliaments, dumas, reichstags, chambers of deputies, would not have a right to exist if the contention were true that discussion does not lead to the disclosure of new facts; to new views capable of modifying the hostile relation of classes and even of nations;—and to the emergence of mighty leaders of the people.

America's Worst Enemy Is the Selfish Citizen

The worst enemy of America is not a foreign enemy, but it is the selfish American citizen whose democratic ideals have gone to seed, and whose only program is ridicule and suppression.

The very definition of justice today needs revision. No one in America takes it badly that the Czar's property yielding an income it is said of forty-two millions a year may be confiscated. If we are correctly informed, there are American fortunes that yield the income of the Czar. This stupendous wealth may be admirably earned and expended. But there is something wrong with an economic system that makes such aggregation of property possible. At a time when between one and two million children are obliged to earn their living, unprotected by the National Child Labor Law; when millions of women are compelled to work for their bread; when over two hundred thousand churches throughout the country are straining every effort to collect and deal out their small philanthropies to sustain life and give shelter to those for whom the industrial conflict has proved too severe, America must find some curative method of co-operation between labor and capital.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that America has neither zealous scientific paternalism, nor England's intelligent co-operation with labor. Her past aloofness from the labor question is only one side of her national aloofness,—her intellectual provincialism, her suspicion or ignorance of ideas from "abroad," her dislike of European trade marks—"made in England," "made in Germany." Like Walter Pater, America has desired to "keep as a solitary

prisoner its own dream of a world." Her European alliances may carry her into the first-line trenches of industrial experiment—into a social revolution. One road to safety is fair play for the worker.

III

THE WORKING-MAN AND PATRIOTISM

" ' Les moralistes,' disait avec une haute clairvoyance Saint-Simon en 1807, ' se mettent en contradiction quand ils defendent à l'homme l'égoïsme et approuvent le patriotisme, car le patriotisme n'est pas autre chose que l'égoïsme national, et cet égoïsme fait commettre de nation à nation les mêmes injustices que l'égoïsme personnel entre les individus.'

" Le premier point, c'est d'exister."

MAURICE BARRES,
Sous l'Œil des Barbares, p. 16.

" The instinct of life is little developed in youth."

MECHNIKOV,
Prolongation of Life, p. 254.

" What grows upon the world is a certain matter-of-factness. The test of each century, more than of the century before, is the test of results. New countries are arising all over the world where there are no fixed sources of reverence; which have to make them; which have to create institutions which must generate loyalty by conspicuous utility."

WALTER BAGEHOT,
The English Constitutions, p. 316.

" Our wishes lengthen as our sun declines."

Young's Night Thoughts.

CHAPTER III

THE WORKING-MAN AND PATRIOTISM

MR. ROOT, on the occasion of his formal welcome, August, 1917, by the City of New York, after his mission to Russia, gave his hearers and the American public a shock when he stated that some of the trouble in Russia had been stirred up by Russians who returned home from America, disgruntled with our institutions.

"These men (native Russian Socialists), aided by thousands who had swarmed back to Russia from America, thousands who returned vilifying and abusing the land that gave them refuge, gave them security, gave them liberty to think and speak and act; these men returned to Russia, declaring America to be as tyrannous as the Czar, and calling for the destruction, not for the setting up, of competent government in Russia, but for the destruction of all governments—of America, of England, of France, of Italy, and, incidentally, of Germany. They poisoned the minds of the working-men and of peasants and of soldiers. Their definite and distinct object was to destroy the whole industrial and national system of Russia. And they had the power in Petrograd, for there at the beginning the garrison adhered to them."

As the months have passed, other Americans have returned from ampler observations in Russia, for instance Colonel W. B. Thompson and Mr. Ernest Poole, whose reports are more reassuring as to the personnel and spirit of the Russian Revolution. What is more, our government has directly addressed to the Russian people sympathetic and encouraging greetings.

We have learned also to our surprise how closely foreign liberals keep track of international happenings. We better understand the hostility excited in the Russian Republic by our "Mooney trial," our race riots, deportations, burnings at the stake and lynchings. What can be less attractive to a new democracy than the mistakes of older democracies?

We should not resent criticism from Petrograd when we have quite as harshly criticized ourselves.

An official commissioner of California, in his report upon industrial outrages in that State, likened them to Russian outrages under the old régime, and Colonel Weinstock had visited Russia. Our working-classes call our police "Cossacks."

John Graham Brooks, in his volume, "American Syndicalism," published in 1913, writes as follows: "No less fateful is it that syndicalism comes among us at a time when the general atmosphere is electric with rude and querulous discontent; when censure of our main stabilities, con-

stitutions, courts, judges, will bring applause to any general audience in the United States. This criticism of our 'secular sanctities' is not in the least an affair of mobs alone. It speaks openly and unashamed in the books and utterances of scholars and first-rate publicists. In nearly 300 regular socialist periodicals, this defiant criticism has become the habitual reading of some millions of our inhabitants. I have heard a large working-class audience burst into uproarious guffaws at this sentence spoken from the platform: 'No society could exist that did not respect its courts of justice.' A very able university president recently attempted the defense of our conserving institutions in a popular arena. He was so heckled and worsted that he left the meeting feeling, as he told me, that 'they thoroughly wiped the floor with me.' " *

We must remember, too, that thousands of Russians are followers of Tolstoy, who, surrounded by absolutist governments and aggressive national ambitions, despaired of the spirit of nationality as large enough to embrace unselfishly the needs of struggling humanity.

"Tolstoy thought patriotism was stupid and immoral. He said it was stupid because it made every country think itself superior to other countries, and immoral because it made one country take advantage of another. No patriot in the accepted sense, he said, could be a Christian." †

* Pp. 101-102.

† Francis B. Reeves, "Russia Then and Now."

When Miss Wald, of the Henry Street Settlement (and there is no higher authority upon the mental attitude of Russian immigrants), was asked to comment upon Mr. Root's criticism of immigrants who had returned to Russia from America and condemned our democracy, she replied that the majority of the immigrants she saw she believed to be peculiarly American and patriotic. I should say the same thing. Perhaps the trouble is that the immigrant is too American and bores us by always quoting the Declaration of Independence and Abraham Lincoln. Some of our countrymen are a little tired of these exhibits.

An American ambassador in Europe, a man of large wealth, expressed the fear, when Mr. Wilson was elected President, I am told, that, now democracy was in the saddle, America would send over, to replace him as ambassador, "some Abraham Lincoln sort of man, who," he said, "would never go here."

In an audience composed mostly of workingpeople, the invited speaker, a gentleman of importance, could not recall some phrases of Lincoln's Gettysburg address, which he groped for in the course of his speech. They were supplied quietly from the floor by a Russian boy who had been but a short time in this country. Which of these two, the ambassador or the Russian boy, should you call the more promising American?

Unfortunate Linking of Patriotism with Patrimony

A spirit of disillusioned criticism is well known to speakers in meetings of working-men. When supporters of President Wilson at public meetings quoted his watchword, that America was to make the world a safe place for democracy, the speaker could usually expect a laugh from the audience and a sneering rejoinder, "Show us your democracy"; or, "They have more democracy now in Europe than America has." I have also heard working-men cry out, "Why should I fight for a country where I do not own a shovelful of mud?" A labor leader, Kruse, before the Senate Military Committee, previous to the return of the Army Bill to the Senate for debate, said, "What have my men got to fight for? They have no homes and no country. Why should they be forced to shed their blood for the capitalists?" Their landlessness and helplessness had destroyed their sense of patriotic relation or obligation. Patrimony and patriotism, in their minds, go together.

Let us not be too hard upon perplexed immigrants who come to us with impracticable hopes, in their moments of extreme disappointment. The average American is not aware that America has lagged in the marching column of democracy; but Winston Churchill wrote in the New York

Times, of December 2, 1917, after visiting Europe: "Today it is safe to say we have become the most conservative of the nations of the western world. We were once the most radical."

Is Patriotism More Pronounced in a Predatory Class?

Besides disgruntled immigrants there were in the United States many working-men who were not keen to enter the war, but who accepted the action of the government and have supported it with their lives, their labor, their savings and with high spirit.

If we follow Mr. Veblen's social analysis and divide classes into predatory and industrial, we can easily understand how the industrial, with its long descent or its self-chosen ideals, would be inert toward a military program.

Four things in our democracy made it slow to turn to a military settlement:

1. An increasing intelligence and confidence in reason. In a popular government force is naturally the last word.
2. The association of war with national economic rivalries and capitalistic competition which are viewed unsympathetically by wage-earners.
3. The lessening of national egotism and selfishness by the fusion of many races, which tends to destroy racial theories of superiority.
4. The growing sense of the value of life which is a product of democracy.

Mr. George Louis Beer points out in his book, "The English Speaking People" (where he urges a hearty rapprochement between Great Britain and America), that international anarchy is the result of the theory of national sovereignty. But this power of the nation to regulate its own affairs, free from outside interference, is new and hardly won. For a thousand years the fight in Western Europe was between emerging national sovereignty and the old ecclesiastical control by the Roman Church. This fight nationality won. Then political democracy emerged and controlled the nation. The industrial democracy arose and led the people. Now the working population of Europe and America are trying to get together, which is the meaning of internationalism.

Under the leadership of Mr. Gompers trade-unionism in America has more and more formally placed itself by the side of the government. The war Socialists joined them. Later even pacifist Socialists took a military attitude. They perceived that the Russian working-men were betrayed in their idealistic hopes, when they fancied that if they refused to fire upon their German brothers, and laid down their arms, the German working-men in the army and out of it would revolt against their masters.

In addition to this psychological experience they were convinced of the Kaiser's imperialistic program when Germany continued to attack

Russia after it had thrown down its arms and signed a peace compact.

From the deeper view of democratic strength it is a matter for American self-congratulation that all its classes were not responsive to the military situation from one motive—that they were not whipped into line by the government—but in the true spirit of America had to be "shown." Nothing could be a greater guarantee of the intelligent principles leading our common life than this insistence upon an appeal to reason which has finally brought the whole country behind the President's policy. At any rate, if our working-people came to the colors in successive waves, depending upon home-made or foreign-made arguments, no one can impugn their loyalty.

Labor in England, during the war, has not only come to a new power but to new esteem. The British Munitions Commission, which visited the United States in the autumn of 1917, told me that the labor leaders had been singularly loyal to their agreements to the government. The military critic of the highest repute in England, Colonel Repington, in an interview at the time of his resignation from the *Times,* declared: "Labor has been splendid throughout the war and I have every confidence in labor." (New York *Times,* January 22, 1918.)

The word patriotism comes from the Latin word *pater,* father, and could be defined in old Roman terms as piety, or filial respect towards

one's native land or adopted country. But modern patriotism has undergone the same change that family sentiment displays. Children of a hundred years ago feared and obeyed their parents. Children of today hold their parents responsible. The citizen of the past felt his obligation to the state. He now feels the state's obligation to him.

This changed attitude, this demand upon the parental concern of the state, is further intensified by a changed view of the meaning and plan of politics. The working-people used to think that all power proceeded from political control. They now believe that real power proceeds from industrial control and that politics, little better than a camouflage, conceals this deeper economic control. Politics then being the expression rather than the source of power, the working-men no longer look to it for the benefits promised by parties but demand for themselves an influence that corresponds to their economic importance.

But the patriotism of the working-men of the world we must admit is founded not so much upon their satisfaction with their countries as they find them, as it is with an ideal that is becoming clearer and clearer to the working-classes of all lands, which they fervently believe their country specially qualified to realize. Not only are they fighting Hohenzollern imperialism but any kind of dynastic, political, or even industrial imperialism, the world over.

Through the smoke of war, democracy has at last discerned its vision of a world government by the honest aims of humanity everywhere. The workers reach out towards all upbuilding human opportunities which their toil, when educated and properly guided, can more than adequately pay for in the increased production of wealth, which the future, organized industrially and democratically, can easily create.

If in the past it was land that united us because with our enormous public domain everyone might hope for a home, we must again relate land to the people or unite them by a new property possession. Land is only a gauge of security. What our working-people want is security.

The labor movement in New York as early as 1829 made radical demands based on the necessary exclusion of mechanics from the land. A preamble drawn up by Thomas Skidmore, a mechanic, lays it down "in the first form of government no man gives up to others his original right of soil and becomes a smith, a weaver, a builder, or other mechanic or laborer, without receiving a guaranty that reasonable toil shall enable him to live as comfortably as others."

Making Patriots by Economic Security

All cannot live as farmers on the land but the land can serve all. All cannot raise their own food but there can be food for all. Let us recog-

nize the fact that the man out of a job, who is left to roam about and waste his time till he finds one, while his family starves, has nothing to be patriotic about.

Let us make him a patriot by making him economically secure.

"Men care but little about the form of government under which they live as long as they are industrially free. Neither politics or religious persecution dislodge the property-owning class. So strong is the tie of property, of even a little property, that men suffer every sort of oppression rather than abandon their native homes. It is poverty that drives men to dare the unknown." *

But poverty can kill patriotism today as easily as in the past; if you would develop patriotism abolish poverty.

Will Crooks, the London M. C. and M. P., who opposed the Boer War, supports Great Britain in its fight against Germany. The difference to him was the danger in the present war of the Germans violating the English working-man's home.

The final compulsion in America that caused the well-to-do to enter the war was their persuasion that Germany, if victorious, would levy tribute on the United States and when she got ready carve up our country.

* Frederic C. Howe, "Privilege and Democracy in America," p. 13.

If the American working-men do not share the fears of Will Crooks as to their women folk, nor the fears of the American privileged class as to property, why should they then be easily stirred to war? That they have so largely accepted the situation is due to their confidence in the policies of President Wilson; it is a confirmation of their idealistic attachment to the land of Abraham Lincoln, the emancipated black slave, and the Declaration of Independence. I know ware-earners who have joyfully put their savings for a vacation into Liberty Bonds.

The working-people see that there must be something to give order and restraint where millions live together. They also see that "government as a rule is a plus quantity," but their eyes are now opened by the publicity given to diplomatic interchange, to the manipulation of government in the interest of families and oligarchies to an unbelievable extent. They have new reason to fear "governing classes," secret diplomacy, militarism, and the pushing of successful capitalism into an aristocratic realm of stupendous waste. The diplomatic revelations of this war have given arguments to anarchy; for all the sufferers can blame "government."

The exhibition of loyal attachment shown by our working-people has been amazing. Labor organizations have passed votes of approval of the government and promised co-operation. Seven hundred foreign language papers have sent to

the President assertions of loyalty. No draft riots. No German-American riots. An orderly acceptance of an orderly program. An army of a million and a half enrolled for a war three thousand miles away, which has been pictured to America for three years as little better than a holocaust and which we enter for no material advantage. What higher evidences of patriotism from our working-men do we want? Criticism is not disloyalty; complaint is not sedition. The most devoted families are often those that indulge most openly in plain talk.

IV

THE AMERICANIZING OF THE IMMIGRANT WORKER

Hack and Hew were the sons of God
In the earlier earth than now:
One at his right hand, one at his left,
To obey as he taught them how.

And Hack was blind, and Hew was dumb,
And both had the wild, wild heart;
And God's calm will was their burning will,
And the gist of their toil was art.

BLISS CARMAN.

"Fresh come, to a new world indeed, yet long prepared,
I see the genius of the modern, child of the real and ideal,
Clearing the ground for broad humanity, the true America,
heir of the past so grand,
To build a grander future."

WALT WHITMAN,
"Song of the Redwood Tree."

"The solution of our problem of immigration finally depends upon the extent to which we are willing to give to the worker a larger share of the wealth he produces.

"Abolish poverty, transform deficit into surplus, fill depletion with energy, and the ascribed heredity of the poor will vanish with its causes. No slow elimination of characters need precede the transformation of the servile man into the straightforward, fearless comrade. His essential characters are not manifest in him as we see him; they are revealed by those descendants of earlier poverty men who have broken the bonds that held them in want. Their constructive imagination, their foresight, their emancipation from superstition and fear, will be his also as soon as he is lifted from his quagmire. He is what he is, not through lack of character, but through the suppression of it. A steady surplus will do for him what it has done for workers who have long experienced ease and enjoyed their security in nature. Nothing but the rise of the masses to a plane above uncertainties of income can give to society an improving, physical heredity."

SIMON N. PATTEN,
The New Basis of Civilization, p. 43.

CHAPTER IV

THE AMERICANIZING OF THE IMMIGRANT WORKER

IMMIGRATION is called by some economists America's biggest problem. For us it is the outward facing side of the world's greatest problem—human migration. Our intelligence about the flow of the foreign-born into America will be quickened if we picture it as part of the endless racial roaming that included in the Glacial period the coming of the negroid races into Europe; in historic times the diffusion from central Asia of the Aryan peoples; the assaults of Hun, Vandal, and Goth upon the Roman Empire; the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Turks; the discovery and settlement of the western hemisphere; "the winning of the west"; the stampede of American farmers to Canada's virgin soils and the eruption of the Southern negroes into the North. Our immigration problem is seen more clearly if we remember that Japan, China, and India "export labor"; that all Asia's eight hundred millions must be spread more equably upon the face of the earth. Russia's land hunger which has absorbed a seventh of the world's sur-

face; Germany's ambition for a place in the sun for her increasing numbers; Great Britain's colonial system with sea-control of trade routes, are phases of race migration which on the surface account for the European war.

The European war has somewhat confused the subject of immigration in the United States. Already thousands of immigrants, without applying for our citizenship, have returned to their own countries to join the colors, leaving a smaller number of foreign-born persons in our population. Meanwhile, immigration has dropped from 1,197,892 for the year ending June 30, 1913, to 298,826 for 1916.

In the midst of these unprecedented conditions, the United States has passed a more stringent immigration law which requires a literacy test. Just now the foreigner does not want us and we do not want the foreigner.

Since the Russian revolution a second return wave to Europe of immigrants has taken place. The Russian Jews in America may exchange their remote Zionism for the immediate expectations of Russian citizenship. At any rate, many of them seem to prefer the East with its hopes, to the West with its reality,—for thousands are talking of returning there. Palestine, too, is beckoning afresh the old Zionists.

The most impressive sight to be seen in normal years in America is the stream of immigrants coming off ship at Ellis Island. No waterfall

or mountain holds such awesome mystery; no river or harbor, embracing the navies of the world, expresses such power; no city so puts wings to the imagination; no work of art calls with such epic beauty. But there are spectators who behold in the procession from overseas an invading army comparable to the Gothic hordes that overran Rome, and who lament this meeting of Europe and America as the first act in our National Tragedy.

What Is Meant by the Americanization of the Immigrant Worker?

To Americanize is to mould into competent institutions the human ideals of the Declaration of Independence; it is a process to which the native-born as well as the immigrant must submit, and to which the immigrant more than the native-born may haply contribute.

Undoubtedly we have a situation unknown to any other nation, past or present. In 1910 the total population of the United States was 91,972,-266; of these 13,343,583 were foreign-born whites; 10,239,579 were negroes, Indians, and Asiatics. Between 1900-1910, 9,555,673 immigrants came in from over fifty races. Of the native whites forty-seven per cent. are the children of foreign-born parents. Of our entire population 43,972,185 were born of native white parents—that is, only forty per cent.

The League for Limiting Immigration takes a pessimistic view of the future of American ideals under the influence of race mixture and quotes Gobineau: "America is likely to be not the cradle of a new, but the grave of an old race." *

A volume, "The Problem of Immigration," published by Professor Jenks and Professor Lauck, ought to modify considerably a pessimistic forecast. Both the authors were from the beginning connected with the United States Immigration Commission. They have summed up in their 484 pages the information collected in forty-two volumes of the original material published by the Commission.

The Conceit of Our American Superiority

Broadly speaking, our apprehension of harm to American ideals from race mixture is nothing but prejudice. Much of our dread of a deterioration of the American stock by immigration is a survival of ancient jealousy and alarm which once characterized the contact of all "natives" everywhere with all "foreigners." The sight of a foreigner meant ordinarily a raid or a war. This is still the case among children today. They revile and attack the foreigner. In America every new race of immigrants has had to fight its way to peace and safety in the community where it settled. Boys and hoodlums insulted it,

* *North American Review*, Vol. 195, pp. 94-102.

stoned it, stole from it, mimicked it, pulled Jewish beards and Chinese pig-tails, while their elders were exploiting it industrially.

Another element in our fear is the fetish of Teutonic superiority and the dogma of Latin degeneracy. Races that have produced in our lifetime a Cavour, a Mazzini, a Marconi, a Louis Pasteur, a Joffre, a Bergson, that have fought and defeated ecclesiastic and feudal enemies in their own households, I venture to think have still much to teach us. The stability of the French in their political and military program is the outstanding fact of the European war. As for Italy, American officials there believe its modern progress beyond that of any country in Europe.

In the Conference on Immigration held in New York a few years ago, there were delegates scarcely able to speak the English language who orated against later arrivals in this country than themselves and predicted our downfall if they were admitted. In short, each race considers itself superior; its diatribes against other races are sheer vanity. We Americans, in conceit of superiority, are in the same class as the Chinese. In the words of a well-known writer on Asiatic people,

"after an adult lifetime of study of the peoples of the Far East, I find few or no novelties in their history or evolution as compared with that of our own rise from savagery to civilization; nor is their human nature by a hair's-breadth different from our own. What we need

now to have cast in the world's melting-pot is the colossal conceit common to the white and the yellow man with more scientific comparative history."

Democracy Extends a Standing Invitation

At any rate, our republican form of government is a standing invitation to the oppressed of other countries, and our undeveloped wealth makes a constant demand for strong arms and hard workers. What then can we do? We cannot shut out "foreigners" and still be true either to our own ideals or to our practical requirements. Nor can we pick and choose. There is no accepted standard of excellence except health, morals, and "literacy." No race monopolizes these. Moreover, there are not enough of one foreign stock, were we permitted to select one as the best, to do the work in the United States which waits to be done.

The forms of government under which men live are not stereotyped, and, while some change slowly, others in response to the needs of the people change rapidly. A democracy is the most plastic form and gives freest course to evolutionary development. There is, consequently, a natural flow from rigid to plastic governments, which can only be checked by the plastic becoming set. This it cannot do without committing suicide.

One of our mistakes (an important cause, too, of our distrust of race mixture) is to suppose

that our own form of government is fixed and changeless. A republican form of government is created for the sake of making change possible. A democracy should not fear an extension of popular freedom; it should only fear the reactionary and stand-patter, who have no proper place in such a fabric.

A Problem not of Nature but of Nurture

The scientific attitude toward heredity is today different from a generation ago. Darwin's theory of slowly acquired characteristics and of the transmission by heredity of acquired characteristics was attacked by August Weismann, whose germ-plasm theory of heredity seriously weakened Darwin's hypothesis. Then came the botanist, De Vries, with his theory of spasmodic progress, amounting to "spasmodic appearance of species at a given time under the influence of certain special conditions."

Francis Galton brought forward the theory of mathematical inheritance, which, modified by Pearson, amounts to this: That of all the heritage which an individual possesses one-half on the average comes from his parents, one-fourth from his grandparents, and so on. Meanwhile, the studies of Gregor Mendel, Abbot of Brünn, neglected for thirty-five years after their publication in 1865, came to light, with a specific body of botanical experiments leading to certain general principles

of heredity. The essential part of Mendel's discoveries is the principle of the segregation of characters in the fusion of the reproductive cells or gametes, and its natural corollary, the purity of the gametes. Mendel did not believe in blends, but in the unit character of heredity.

Two theories of heredity are now current:

"1. Children show a tendency to revert to a type intermediate between the types of the two parents, or in cases of changes of types to another type, dependent upon the mid-parental type. In other words, the characteristics of the parents are blended in the children.

"2. Either the father's or the mother's type, or the type of a more remote ancestor, is reproduced, and certain parental traits may be dominant over others—*i. e.*, one particular trait, either father's or mother's, to appear with greater frequency in the children than the corresponding but different trait of the other parent." *

Mendel's law attaches so much value to "dominant" and so much danger to "recessive" units that under his theory it would be natural to try to divide races into the old categories of sheep and goats. But even under the operation of his law a mixed race has advantages over a pure race.

"The clear lesson of Mendelian studies to human society is this: That when two parents with the same defect marry—and there is none of us without some

* "Change in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants," by Franz Boas.

defect—*all* of the progeny must have the same defect, and there is no remedy for the defect by education, but only, at the most in a few cases, by a surgical operation. The presence of a character in one parent will dominate over its absence in the other parent; . . . *the advanced position masters the retarded or absent condition.*"

"*The mating of dissimilars favors a combination in the offspring of the strongest characteristics of both parents and fits them the better for human society.*"* A strong argument for the blending of races.

Environment today is considered a most important factor in heredity by students outside the ranks of pure biologists. What a surprising fact—that the intellectual classes among the Magyars, the Uralo-Altaic peoples, the Slavs or German races, furnish us with identical measurements of trunk, extremities, etc., whereas individuals of the same race differ considerably when once distinctly separated by their occupations! Another fact of similar significance is that the measurements of Austrian Jews correspond entirely with those that Gould mentioned in the case of cultivated persons in the United States. The Austrian Jews are not engaged in mercantile work, but almost exclusively are money-lenders, small shop-keepers, lawyers, and doctors.†

* Charles B. Davenport, "Influence of Heredity on Human Society," in *Annals of American Academy*, July 1, 1909.

† Jean Finot, in "Race Prejudice," p. 122.

We all agree with Professor Ripley that

"the first impression from comparison of our original Anglo-Saxon ancestry in America with the motley crowd now pouring in upon us is not cheering. It seems a hopeless task to cope with them, to assimilate them with our present native-born population."

But listen further:

"Yet there are distinctly encouraging features about it all. These people, in the main, have excellent physical qualities, in spite of unfavorable environment and political oppression for generations. No finer physical type than the peasantry of Austro-Hungary are to be found in Europe. The Italians, with an out-of-door life and proper food, are not weaklings. Nor is even the stunted and sedentary Jew—the third greatest in our present immigrant hordes—an unfavorable vital specimen. Their careful religious regulations have produced in them a longevity even under most unfavorable conditions. Even to-day, under normal conditions, a rough process of selection is at work to bring the better types to our shores. We receive, in the main, the best, the most progressive and alert of the peasantry that the lower classes which these lands recently tapped are able to offer. This is a feature of no mean importance. Barring artificial selection by steamship companies and police, we need not complain in the main of the physique of new arrivals."

"The great problem for us in dealing with these immigrants is not that of their nature, but that of their nurture." *

* William Z. Ripley, in "Race Progress and Immigration," in *Annals of American Academy*, July, 1909, pp. 130-138.

"We Americans who have so often seen the children of underfed, stunted, scrub immigrants match the native American in brain and brawn ought to realize how much the superior effectiveness of the latter is due to social conditions." *

The races coming to America show power of adaptation. But as this power of adaptation must be slow, we must be patient. It was slow among the best of the early colonists.

"Not merely do the children of immigrants in many instances show greater height and weight than the same races in their mother country, but in some instances even the head form, which has always been considered one of the most stable and permanent characteristics of races, undergoes very great changes." †

"But the important fact to be kept in mind is that whatever the cause may be, and whether the change in type is for the better or worse, the *influence of the new environment is very marked indeed, and we may therefore expect that the degree and ease of assimilation has probably been somewhat greater than has been heretofore assumed."* ‡

The rapidity of the race assimilation in the United States is proved by the absence of racial domination where given races are numerically in the ascendancy. Professor Boaz finds surprising change in one generation.

* E. A. Ross, "Causes of Race Superiority," in *Annals of American Academy*, July, 1910.

† "The Immigration Problem," by Jenks and Lauck, 1912, p. 266. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

In America different nationalities are subjected to the same conditions. Each has a chance to make its characteristic dominant.

Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, of the National Museum of Washington, studied the descendants of the old American stock and concludes that there is a strong persistence of racial characteristics, but he finds variableness and diversity to the varieties of their ancestors.

He seems, however, to meet Professor Boas's theory of rapid variability in finding the head more variable than other parts of the body—for example, the face, hand, and foot.

Such a study, however, does not readily meet the situation, as the older families have kept a good deal to themselves and would not be expected to exhibit the amount of blend that is likely to be seen when the successful members of later racial groups come in large numbers into the Colonial strains. Even then Mendel's law would expect to find "unity" inheritance rather than blend. The melting-pot would be the effect of institutions—of physical conditions, environment, and food; of education, of freedom of movement from one class to another, socially and industrially, rather than the result of a physiological mixture of the Latin, the Teuton, the Saxon, the Celt, Slav, Hebrew, etc.

Professor Earl Finch presents "some facts tending to prove that race blending, especially in the rare instances when it occurs under favorable

circumstances, produces a type superior in fertility, vitality, and cultural worth to one or both of the parent stocks."

After the war there are possibilities of other and new fields for the sturdy pioneers than those that have attracted them in the past. Asia Minor may be open to immigration by the defeat of Germany and Turkey. If Great Britain were defeated, an outpouring of her citizens as a result of her restricted industrial organization might be expected.

If people are free to emigrate and capital is also free, the goal of both will be those countries where there is most profitable employment—where high pay and high dividends will be expected. Migration is the human drift toward opportunity, and that land will receive the largest populations from outside which has the most to offer.

In this competition South America may outbid North America on account of larger amounts of unsettled land. Canada may surpass the United States in this race for the same reason. Russia, Palestine, Asia Minor may excite a new cry: Eastward, ho! If more of Africa should come under British rule, it also would be an important center of new populations.

Professor T. N. Carver, of Harvard University, who has recently discussed this question, sees at any rate for America after the war an immigration of an inferior quality to what it was

before the outbreak, and, as a result, a more acute stage of our already serious labor problem. But suppose we receive some of the men trained in the European war armies—these ought to show new physical and social force.

If rumors from the trenches are to be considered in this question, many of the men in the European armies, who have been gathered in from clerkships and other indoor occupations, ardently declare that after the war they will not go back to their desks, but will emigrate to new conditions favorable for health and independence.

There is talk of laws in Europe to restrain emigration in behalf of the upbuilding of ruined industries. On the other hand, when the thirty-seven millions of soldiers now under arms return to civil life, where will they find employment? Hard times may be expected which would compel emigration. America, as the country least hurt by the war, might be expected to be less depressed industrially and consequently to give employment to the largest number of working-people unless in Europe State Socialism or labor control provides work for all.

The democratic tendencies in these other governments may react upon our own in such a fashion as to make us more sympathetic with immigrants who, before they start from home, are already imbued by their own government with democratic ideas. On the other hand, it is a question whether with the democratizing of European

governments, emigration from those countries will not naturally be checked.

Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, believes that immigration in America after the war will center around the idea of ownership of land. In America in the recent past immigrants have settled in the cities because they cannot do what the earlier immigrants did, namely, acquire cheap land in the West. Two hundred million acres of American land are now held by 250,000 corporations. America to bid for immigration must offer homesteads as Canada has done, as England, Russia, Germany, and other states are in process of doing. Just as wide ownership of small farms in France has been one of the elements of making the French a non-emigrative people, the breaking up of the great estates owned by the royal families or nobility of European countries will encourage those classes in Europe to stay home which have in the past migrated.

"In my opinion," declares Mr. Howe, "immigration to the United States will be profoundly influenced by the big land colonization projects of the European nations. It may be that large numbers of men with their savings will be lured away from the United States." Mr. Howe further informs us that a measure is before Congress looking for some similar farm colonization scheme for this country and that the State of California is undertaking a comprehensive investigation of this subject.

V

PHYSICAL BETTERMENT—THE FUNCTION OF THE STATE

"To me health is more important than all imaginable philosophy; and were it not that Philosophy teaches the recovery of health as her first maxim, she would not avail three straws."

THOMAS CARLYLE,
Letter to Jane Welsh, July 9, 1826, p. 303, Vol. II.

"The greatest task of military preparedness is to put the men in good physical condition."

DR. TAIT MACKENZIE,
Director-General of Physical Training
in the Armies of Great Britain.

"It may be seriously asserted that a chief cause for the remarkable achievements of Greek education was that it was never misled by false notions into an attempted separation of mind and body."

JOHN DEWEY,
Democracy and Education, p. 166.

CHAPTER V

PHYSICAL BETTERMENT—THE FUNCTION OF THE STATE

THE State of New York by recent legislation has led the way in compulsory physical training. It has taken this step in the face of war, indeed as a part of military preparedness. European precedents for compulsory physical training, as for instance in Austria and France, had a similar military origin, except that in those countries it followed defeat.

At any rate, America's immediate concern over military efficiency will doubtlessly lead other States of the Union to take care of the physique of its youths.

In the United States we need governmental supervision of physical training. The call for the scientific oversight of national physique is pressing. The task is too large for private or even local agencies. Our conditions are unique. We must improve physique under unfavorable conditions—millions of foreigners in new lands; millions of farm-born folk in cities. No small part of our problem—the improvement of the American physique—is the acclimatizing of immi-

grants and the urbanizing of foreign peasants and of native farmers.

Physical Deterioration Pronounced Among Our City Poor

Nothing has surprised me more, in thirty years of parish work in a manufacturing town and in a metropolis, than to discover the wretched physique of the poor. In most European countries, height and weight are slightly decreasing. In England, Tommy Atkins is getting smaller and smaller; before the war, recruits even five feet two inches tall, with a chest measure of thirty-three and one-half inches, were hard to find. Now as to size there are no restrictions.

At the outbreak of the Spanish War, at least twenty-five per cent. of our militiamen, as I was informed by the Adjutant-General, could not meet the physical requirements of the United States army. Similar failure of militiamen to meet the physical examination of army surgeons was disclosed in the mobilization of troops along the Mexican border. In the first draft about thirty-three per cent. were rejected for physical unfitness.

The physical standards for the United States army and navy are high, nevertheless the deficiencies of militiamen might have been foretold from the physique of school children. For instance, in the city of New York physical exam-

ination and supervision are given to school children by the Department of Health. This expert inspection and treatment have done much good and cannot be too highly praised. But at least two-thirds of the children examined have been found to need a physician's or surgeon's care, while of the backward and truant children more than nine-tenths are defective.

The New York *Globe* of August 4, 1917, had the following editorial:

"An examining physician for one of the local exemption boards was moved to remark the other day after looking over some draft registrants:

" 'These men are round shouldered, flat chested, flat footed, slab sided, and suffer from hernia, defective hearts, and a dozen other chronic maladies. This is the sort of men we are breeding on the east side. The country need not be surprised or aggrieved. If the nation wishes healthy, upstanding citizens to fight its battles, let it produce such citizens. But if it denies children food, air, and all else that children should have, it may expect just such a harvest as this.'

"There are thousands and thousands of children in the city to-day who are growing up to be round shouldered, flat chested, flat footed, slab sided men, with weak hearts and a dozen other chronic maladies. It is not their fault. Opportunity to develop into strong, healthy men is denied them."

"The New York Board of Health estimates that one hundred thousand children in the public schools go insufficiently nourished." (Quoted by

William G. Wilcox, President of the old Board of Education, and submitted by him in his report to the new Board of Education, at the end of 1917.)

In 1910 Professor Irving Fisher estimated that there were twelve millions of children in our schools in immediate need of medical and surgical attention, that is to say, three-fifths of our school population.*

He further tells us that there are three millions of sick people in the United States all the time, so that "There is no other measure now before the public which equals the power of health insurance for social regeneration." †

In Rochester, New York, investigated by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. of New York City, it was shown that "only 50 per cent. of the total sick outside the institutions were in the care of physicians and only 45.3 per cent. of those sick were able to work and were being cared for."

A study in Dutchess County made by the State Charities Aid Society found "that even among the well-to-do 10 per cent. did not receive adequate care; among the middle classes those that could pay for service for a certain time 50 per cent. were not adequately cared for, and among the poor 68 per cent. received inadequate care." ‡

* Report on National Vitality.

† Tenth annual meeting of the American Association of Labor Legislation, December, 1916.

‡ Dr. Alexander Lambert, Chairman Social Insurance Committee, Medical Association, Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Association of Labor Legislation, December, 1916.

"Today the burden of sickness and its results is tremendous. Could it be visualized it would be appalling." *

The Causes of Impaired Physique Among Our City Poor

The causes of physical deterioration among the poor of the cities are not far to seek. One is overcrowding, another is underfeeding.

In 1790 only 3.14 per cent. of the population of the United States lived in cities of over ten thousand population; in 1910 the percentage of urban population was 46.3. In New York State only 3 per cent. are agriculturists.

"A cow does not need so much land as my eyes require between me and my neighbor." Seventy-five years ago Emerson quoted this approvingly. What a contrast to "lung block" and other congested city quarters today, with their 700 to 1000 souls per acre.

A farm laborer in the United States in 1900 could produce five times as much as in 1850. "The introduction of machinery has increased the productive power of each laborer in agriculture, so that fewer persons produce more product; and the consequence has been that a large portion of the population has changed from agriculture to various kinds of manufacture and transportation." †

* W. C. Archer, Deputy Commissioner, in charge Workmen's Compensation, New York State Industrial Commission, December, 1916.

† United States Census, 1900.

The city has come to stay. We cannot correct city congestion by spreading its population in the unsettled lands of the South and West, upon our nearer and abandoned farms, or in our suburbs. The city is an economic and spiritual necessity. Men must be in closest association to produce wealth with the least possible waste, and also for that personal contact which, patiently and kindly met, develops, as nothing else can, mind, heart, and will. They must labor together for economic advantage and live together for spiritual elaboration.

The increased density of population increases the death-rate. Dr. Newsholme declares: *

"The higher death-rates which are usually associated with increased density of population are not the direct results of the latter. The crowding of people together doubtless leads to the rest, to fouling the air and water and soil, and to the increased propagation of infectious diseases, and thus affects the mortality. But more important than these are the indirect consequences of dense aggregation of population, such as increase of poverty, filth, crime, drunkenness, and other vices, and, perhaps more than all, the less healthy character of urban industries. Of the direct influences connected with the aggregation of population, filthy conditions of air and water and soil are the most important. Poverty of the inhabitants of densely populated districts, implying, as it does, inadequate food and deficient clothes and shelter, has a great effect on swelling their mortality."

* "Vital Statistics," pp. 157, 159.

Where there is a high death-rate there will be deterioration of physique. Many are attacked by disease who do not succumb, but whose vitality is diminished and who not only carry through life physical weaknesses or blemishes produced by the disease, but impart impaired vitality to their offspring.

Class and Race Acclimatization Are Potent Factors in City Physical Deterioration

With the growth of industrialism, cities must expand. In the country farms are deserted; in the city mushroom apartment-houses spring up. A majority of the men and women of the United States will soon live in tenement-houses.

Our cities are not only filled from our abandoned farms with people who for generations have been used to the vigor of country labor; our cities are filled with aliens. We are crowding the tenements with foreigners. The American farmer's boy, removed to devitalized city air, is trying to breathe and the European peasant in America is trying to keep his health. Class and race acclimatization must go on at once. The farmer is bent upon becoming a factory or mercantile unit; the foreigner hastens to become an American. This is serious business. If you know any mill town full of foreigners, you have mourned over the deterioration of physique in the second generation. American food,

hot summers, cold winters, stuffy tenements, play the mischief with ruddy, beefy Englishmen or Irishmen or whom you will. I have been repeatedly shocked to find among cotton operatives girls of sixteen with full sets of false teeth.

Our own ancestors had to fight the climate. The children of the colonists made hard work of survival. Cotton Mather (and he was of the intelligent, comfortable class three generations from Plymouth Rock) had some fifteen children, of whom only four survived him. After three hundred years we ought to know how to assist acclimatization and how to escape its losses.

Underfeeding Is a Factor in Physical Deterioration

In England ten years ago, according to Sir John Gorst, thirty per cent. of the population lived below the margin of proper nourishment. In Edinburgh seventy-five per cent. of the school children had disorders due to underfeeding. A German writer before the war could throw in the face of England the fact that one-third of its population lived in the gutter. Astounding as it may seem, war itself has made London better fed and healthier.

In the United States there are too many ill-nourished school children, as teachers can testify, who find that empty stomachs make drowsy and dull brains. It is a fallacy due to political

exigencies to suppose the American working-man fares sumptuously. From observation in the homes of working-men I believe that their food is meager in nutritive value, if not in amount. "Perverse or defective nutrition tends to retard growth and to delay the characteristic growth periods and also final size attained is thus reduced." *

While we are shocked at what crowding and poverty can do to destroy physique, we are having looming illustrations of what air and exercise can do to improve it. Nature is struggling always to improve her children. The children of mixed racial marriages in America tend to the physique of the larger parent.

"The Anthropometric Committee's study in England found that boys from the better classes at ten were 3.31 inches taller and 10.64 pounds heavier than industrial-school boys and at fourteen were 6.65 inches taller and 21.85 pounds heavier." † At Harvard College the average student is 1.2 inches taller and 8.8 pounds heavier than the stipend scholarship men (poor boys who receive help from the College funds). ‡

"The Fellows of the Royal Society of England and the English professional class, who may be said to represent the greatest brain power of the British Empire, average respectively 5 feet 9¾ inches, 5 feet 9¼ inches in

* "Adolescence," Stanley Hall, Vol. II, p. 32.

† "Adolescence," Vol. I, p. 34.

‡ Professor D. A. Sargent, *Popular Science Monthly*, September, 1900.

height and 160 pounds weight, while lunatics, criminals, and imbeciles, who may be said to represent the other end of the intellectual scale, if they are not classed as mentally defective, average in height 5 feet 7 inches, 5 feet 4.87 inches; and in weight from 147 to 123 pounds." *

Physical betterment, which is the effort of nature and the result of increasing knowledge, is retreating today, among the poor of great cities, before unusual conditions. A change from a lower to a higher civilization, from an agricultural and handicraft to an industrial manner of life, for the time being, is injurious to the individual. Evidently there should be improvement in health accompanied by increase in strength and longevity, due to the recent enormous enlightenment from science, especially in those departments that teach sanitation and the cure of disease. But with the coming of a better hygiene has cropped out a new enemy to health, the overcrowding and underfeeding of the poor in great cities. This deterioration should be temporary and merely a matter of readjustment, as great populations pass from an agricultural to an industrial manner of life. Better housing, more playgrounds and parks, more leisure, better food, happier social relations, are essential to the physique of city dwellers. But while these are coming something can be done by direct physical training.

* Professor D. A. Sargent, *Popular Science Monthly*, 1907-8. "Physique of Scholars."

A Free Summer Camp for Public-School Boys

One remedy for deterioration of tenement physique is evident. Give at public expense to the poor the physical opportunities and some of the food the rich secure for themselves. A summer camp for boys is no novelty. Camps for the sons of the rich are in high favor. Started about thirty years ago, they have offered such rough out-of-door living, as well as training in physical independence to hothouse children, that they are now innumerable. Why cannot the summer camp be grafted upon our public-school system? It could be approached from two directions: either from the philanthropic fresh-air work which sends thousands of children every summer into the country for a week or so; or from the side of educational tendencies.

The following headlines from the New York *Tribune* are evidence that the public are well informed of the value of the free holidays for mothers, babies, and children taken out of the tenements:

MAKING FLESH AND BLOOD

270 Fresh Air Children Gained 524½ Pounds in Two Weeks

Girls Make Best Showing

Youngsters Come of Families Averaging Seven, and of All Nationalities

Ten years ago I pleaded in the *North American Review* for free summer camps for city youth. By the law of 1916, the State of New York has begun to provide them. The State proposes, says Dr. John H. Finley, Commissioner of Education, "the most notable constructive program of health education yet undertaken by a State. In preparing the plan for the camp there were three primary purposes in view. These were to keep the boys mentally or physically occupied at all times, to give them such exercises as would produce a strong, healthy body, and to give them such military training as would enable them to perform intelligently those duties which a soldier might be called upon to perform.

"There are in the State about 250,000 boys between sixteen and nineteen years old. Under the Act 22,400 boys were enrolled as being subject to military training; the remainder were exempt under that provision excepting those who were actually engaged in 'any occupation for a livelihood.' Out of these 22,400 boys about one-tenth applied for enlistment in the camp, and 1800 (the camp's capacity) were accepted."

Dr. Finley and his friends are to be applauded for this first big step in compulsory physical education. In the same year Massachusetts enacted a similar law and Maryland, New Jersey, and Louisiana "took notice." Of course there is a big discrepancy between a quarter of a million boys between the ages of sixteen and nineteen in

the State of New York, and the 1800 actually in the first summer camp. But a promising beginning has been made.

Now let us enlarge the scope of these State camps until we make them industrial as well as military, and extend them to include locations by the sea, in the mountains, and in farming country. Camps on the ocean or large lakes could be the center of instruction for American youth in the management of boats, swimming, etc. Camps in the mountains could be an inspiration for forestry, woodcraft, lumbering, etc. Camps in farming country, in study of soils, care of domestic animals, and production of crops. All of these things, fundamental to future civilization, are even today an essential and necessary part of military preparedness.

Compulsory Physical Training

The volunteer work in behalf of physical exercise among New York school children, both boys and girls, undertaken by the city of New York in co-operation with the directors of physical culture, has been admirable both in the number of pupils reached and in the variety and excellence of the athletic work achieved. These results have been largely due to the scientific knowledge and devotion of Dr. C. Ward Crampton and to the wide knowledge of amateur athletics and to the extraordinary energy and executive ability of Gustavus T. Kirby.

The class system of the Y.M.C.A.'s gymnasium, the setting-up exercises of the United States army, Swedish gymnastics, as well as the new regulations for physical training in the State of New York, form models of physical exercise for our American schools, now for the most part given to futile calisthenics for a few moments a week, with the object more of correcting circulation between study periods and possibly of correcting bad desk postures, than of promoting general improvement in physique with all that it implies.

Nor are the benefits slow in appearing. The extraordinary change after three months in the physique of naval apprentices in the Newport Training Station under the nourishing and wise supervision of naval officers is amazing.

Why not hold out to these school children who are so anxious for all forms of physical prowess the possibility of even greater development open to all? "I firmly believe," H. G. Beyer says, "that the now so wonderful performances of most of our strong men are well within the reach of the majority of men." *

Compulsory Physical Training in Europe

In France, Germany, and Austria a compulsory system of physical training is in force in all educational institutions, both civil and military, and

* H. G. Beyer, "Adolescence," Vol. I, p. 197.

has had an influence upon the national physical development. The soldier, after his enrollment, continues a course of physical training with which as a boy and youth he has become familiar, and the main features of which still remain the essentials of his military education. Among the schools of England, no special gymnastic training is officially required. The taking of proper exercise is left largely to the individual, much to his physical disadvantage when compared with the corresponding classes in the countries just named, and to the detriment of the military service of which he may ultimately become a part.

In 1873 the French Government made physical training compulsory in all schools, and since that time immense improvement has been made in the development of the French. As in the other Continental armies, swimming is taught at all stations where the facilities exist. Some of the gymnastic exercises are accompanied by music.

In Austria the highest importance is attached to the physical education of both soldiers and civilians, it being compulsory.

In Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland, physical culture is looked upon as necessary as, and also as being an aid to, the mental and military education of the individual.

An American Precedent for Compulsory Physical Training

If we resent or fear to follow foreign example, our impulse need not come from abroad:

"In 1790 President Washington transmitted to the First Senate of the United States an elaborate scheme prepared by General Henry Knox, then Secretary of War, for the military training of all men over eighteen and under sixty. The youth of eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years were to receive their military education in annual camps of discipline to be formed in each State, and a military prerequisition was proposed as a right to vote. This plan failed of adoption, as did also the following recommendation, that was urged in the national House of Representatives in 1817 and 1819, 'that a corps of military instructors should be formed to attend to the gymnastic and elementary part of instruction in every school in the United States.'" *

Noah Webster seems to have been the first American of note to propose the institution of a college course of physical training.

The Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts, under George Bancroft, in 1823, was "the first in the new continent to connect gymnastics with a purely literary establishment." †

The Boston gymnasium, opened in the Washington Gardens, October 3, 1826, with Dr. Follen as its principal instructor, seems to have been

* United States Education Report, 1897-98, p. 553.
† *Ibid.*, p. 554.

the first public gymnasium of any note in America.

Gymnastic grounds were established at Yale in 1826, and at Williams, Amherst, and Brown in 1827.

Between 1830 and 1860 no general revival of interest in school or college athletics occurred; after the Civil War an interest in athletics was awakened by physicians rather than by soldiers.

The Economic Advantage of Better Physical Training

When a national system of compulsory physical education is advocated, the friends of such a plan will be asked to prove that it has economic value. This is easily shown. Physical betterment is already recognized as a financial asset. If we may reckon the wage-earners as a third of our population, and suppose them to earn two dollars a day for three hundred days, the value to the country of extending their working careers by only one year would be twenty billion dollars. The actual figures are probably much higher. Our annual bill for sickness is another billion—twice what we spend for education.

Physical culture for military service, although undertaken in maturity, is of so large advantage that it reacts beneficially upon the productive energies of society. In the training of recruits it is found that "the greatest of all changes was

the change in bodily activity, dexterity, presence of mind, and endurance of fatigue; a change a hundredfold more impressive than any other."

A man's economic value today depends with fresh illustration upon his physical powers. Some railway corporations will not tolerate cigarette-smoking, and some New York banks forbid the use of alcohol among their employees, on or off duty. The tests of eyesight for color-blindness have become in our generation a requirement of great services. One excuse for child-labor is the early decrepitude of parents in the laboring classes. Physical betterment would preserve the vigor of the average working-man beyond early middle life; would free him from need of stimulants; would extend the period during which he could support himself and educate his family; would increase the ability of wage-earners to provide for old age; and would enlarge the wealth-producing population.

Moral Advantages of Better Physical Training

A great deal of work that we, in our debilitated and nervous generation, throw upon the moral nature of man ought to be left to the physical nature. We have overburdened the moral and have asked altogether too many tasks of it; we not only expect it to stand the stress of great crises and to develop higher spiritual traits, but also to be constantly on duty to drag the erring indi-

vidual away from casual lapses. A normal body should do this.

Physical exercise, it is well known, diminishes sexuality. The connection between morality and athletics is recognized in the leading American universities.

At Elmira Reformatory the introduction of athletic exercise among the prisoners produced astonishing results, not only in the physique, but the behavior and moral attitude of the men.* To judge from photographs of incoming prisoners (naked), much of their moral delinquency might have been due to their physical plight.

Health is the best mentor; a sick, devitalized man is restlessly driven to all sorts of substitutes for strength—to drink, to pleasure, to passion—in fact, to any excitement that momentarily stimulates his energies. Health has no need of narcotics and will hold a man to a proper and reasonable manner of life. To ask the will to keep a neurotic out of mischief is to postpone physical improvement and hasten a final catastrophe.

The problem of crime is simplified by compulsory physical training. "Lack of exercise," said Miss Agnes M. Hayes, of Public School No. 35, "is the chief cause of thieving. If the boys had more playground, more air and sunshine, they would not gamble, and it is gambling that leads

* New York State Reformatory at Elmira. Seventeenth Year-Book, pages P' and following.

to stealing. They would rather play football than get down in a cramped position to play craps."

Summer is the season of crime. Law-breaking, like a noxious plant, flourishes with the sun; even among school children, unruliness increases with the temperature. There are twice as many bad boys as usual when the temperature ranges between eighty and ninety, and three times as many when the thermometer soars still higher. Crime, immorality, and suicide hold high carnival in June, July, and August. If the children who swarm the tenement-houses could live during the summer in the country, under a splendid physical regimen, not only would much actual law-breaking be prevented, but incipient tendencies toward crime averted.

Mental Advantages of Improved Physique

Today we can trace physical advantage very far. Professor Mosso, of Turin University, says:*

"We attain in training a maximum of intensity and we keep ourselves, not for an instant only, at the culminant point of physical force, but even when the muscles have returned to their natural size after long rest, even for months the beneficent effect of exercise remains."

* "The Theory and Practice of Military Hygiene," by E. L. Munson, p. 400.

This benefit is largely in the storage of nervous strength. Charles Mercier, the English alienist, points out that, as states of mind are but the obverse side, the shadows, of nervous processes, whatever has effect upon the nervous processes has effect on the mental states. Memory, for instance, is on the bodily side the reviviscence of a physical process that has previously been active. The physical basis of memory is only too apparent to most of us, who can remember better in the morning than in the evening, better before eating than after, better after exercise than before.

At Sing Sing prison it has been recently found by Dr. Bernard Glueck that the work done by the prisoners in the afternoon is of a better grade than the work done in the morning. This, of course, is in complete contradiction to usual industrial experience. Dr. Glueck discovered the reason to be the deleterious effects of the nights spent by the prisoners in their cells.

Physical exercise is used today by alienists as a means of mental development. A few muscular movements, tried over and over again, may constitute the first steps of a progressive education and the starting-point of mental improvement.

Mental and physical power are normally found together. In our public schools "The children who make the best progress in their studies are on the average larger in girth of chest and width

of head than children whose progress is less satisfactory." *

Physical Training as a Hygienic Precaution

Physical buoyancy, the feeling of worth and serviceableness, goes far to transform life from a treadmill into a delightful opportunity. The brain is directly benefited by muscular exercise and cleared of humors and freakiness.

Length of days, that biblical blessing, more likely now to be enjoyed than ever before, is directly fostered by physical culture.

"The habit of breathing properly is a great factor in longevity and a roomy thorax and strong heart are no mean allies in resisting invasion by disease. When the latter has actually gained a foothold a few additional cubic inches of respiratory capacity or a small reserve of disciplined cardiac power may suffice to turn the scales in pneumonia or typhoid fever." †

America can show twice as many physicians to population as Great Britain, and four times as many as Germany. In proportion to the general population, we have seventy times as many doctors as physical directors. We permit this disparity on the theory, perhaps, that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Preven-

* See also Professor Dudley A. Sargent's "The Physique of Scholars, Athletes, and the Average Student."

† "The Theory and Practice of Military Hygiene," E. L. Munson, p. 38.

tion needs more numerical representation. Governmental supervision of health and compulsory physical training will be important factors in any program after the war for greater industrial efficiency as well as for individual and domestic happiness.

VI

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW AND THE WORKER

"Argument with hungry, ignorant and excited men is obviously a feeble undertaking, but still it is the only method in a free country like this. Certainly the clubs and the police will never put sound ideas into people's heads; on the contrary every blow is likely to make a convert to a 'propaganda of deed.' Even more subtle attacks on more stable ways of meeting economic difficulties had better not be suppressed."

The Nation, March 28, 1908.

CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW AND THE WORKER

IN the past we have too largely turned over industrial disputes in the United States to "strong-arm" squads. Instead of deciding economic disputes, as we do political and legal differences, by parliamentary or by judicial machinery, we resorted to force. Instead of referring labor controversies to boards of conciliation or to courts of arbitration, we rang up the police, armed bands of private detectives, swore in special deputy sheriffs, called out the militia and organized "vigilantes," who proceeded to gag discussion, to arrest labor-leaders, to intimidate strikers, to wound and to kill. Force and free speech were thus arrayed. The worker—whether he be foreign or native born—became the victim. Forcible contacts with agents of the law, and not with the higher courts, were the means whereby he learned the law and from which too often arose a distrust of the "Government."

I am not concerned here to justify the so-called "disturbers of the peace," nor do I wish to denounce the so-called "guardians of the peace."

I only point to a dangerous gap in our methods of government, a region of nicest judicial requirement. The police of our great cities are a body of men to be proud of; physically as good as the London police, mentally they are superior. But they are being diverted from their sphere; they are being intrusted with discretionary powers that demand higher military and higher judicial qualities than they can be expected to possess.

The Reign of the Strong-Arm Squad

The roll-call of notable cases, where riot sticks or bullets or bayonets were used instead of brains, now includes New York, Lawrence, Kearny, Perth Amboy, Wakefield, Cabin Creek, in the East; Spokane, Aberdeen, Los Angeles, San Diego, Chicago, Calumet, Ludlow, Everett, Bisbee, in the West.

In Union Square, New York, in the winter after the panic of 1907, the Socialists having been denied the right to hold a meeting in aid of the unemployed, and a crowd incredulous of such a ruling having assembled, the situation was put into the hands of the police. The crowd was trampled by horses, beaten, pursued, and terrorized, even before a bomb was thrown by an irresponsible fellow who had a grudge against the police.

In Lawrence, Massachusetts, a complicated situation which involved a bankrupt city (whose former mayor had been jailed for public of-

fenses), twenty-two thousand strikers of over twenty non-English-speaking races and suspicious of the employers who were believed to control the municipal government, was turned over to assistant police marshal Sullivan and police judge Mahoney, reinforced by a regiment of the State militia. Many arrests were made and brutality was displayed against citizens, two of whom were killed. The strike-leaders were arrested as accessories or were indicted for complicity. Three of them—Ettor, Giovannitti, and Caruso—after a long imprisonment, were acquitted in a trial which showed clearly the flimsy character of the charges against them.*

If it had not been for the eloquence of Giovannitti and the fear of reprisals at the hands of enraged working-men, it is believed by working-people that the three prisoners would have suffered the death penalty.

In San Diego, California, a demand by Socialists for free speech led to a reign of terror projected by police and "vigilantes."

Colonel Weinstock, a highly experienced observer of social conditions, appointed special commissioner by the governor of California to investigate the situation, said in his report:

"The sacred rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, guaranteed under the Constitution, were trampled under foot by men who, in the name of law

* "The Trial of a New Society," J. Elbert, 1913.

and order, proved themselves to be the bitterest enemies of law and order." *

Another considerable danger from our use of force in labor troubles is due to the amateurishness of our agents. The nervousness of inexperienced police, "specials," detectives who fear for their own skins more than for the property they are defending, impels them to shoot without sufficient provocation. Of course, the result of this ill-timed and amateur marksmanship is the death of many innocent persons in no way connected with the strike.

The proceedings of the police in different cities have been as much alike as their uniforms. They have not waited for actual disorder, but they have conjectured from a song, a speech, or a flag that something subversive was going to happen, whereupon they started in and cleaned up the place with riot sticks, horses, and revolvers.

To sum up: The police have duplicated on American soil old Russian atrocities. They have broken up meetings, if the theme was uncongenial or unintelligible to them; upon the plea that such meetings create public disturbance, they have "beaten up" would-be organizers of labor and have denied Socialist speakers and I. W. W. speakers the right of free speech; they have arrested loiterers, pickets, and leaders in time of strikes when no violence had been committed.

* Report of Commissioner investigating San Diego, Cal., disturbances, H. Weinstock, 1912.

In detail, they have played the fire hose on public speakers, women, and infants. They have poured lead into defenseless bodies (in San Diego fourteen bullets were found in one pleader for free speech); they have trampled women with horses and clubbed children; broken up meetings on streets, in fields, in public halls, and private buildings as if they were Cossacks. They have arrested peaceable citizens on frivolous pretenses, as, for instance, street speakers and their audiences, loiterers and strike pickets, on charges of blocking traffic or of disorderly conduct, and they have filled the penitentiaries with them. They have tried to break strikes by imprisoning the leaders on serious charges. They have confiscated reputable newspapers carefully reporting their acts.

Furthermore, conservative citizens have aided and abetted the police in their worst violence. Unofficial bands have snatched prisoners, whose only crime was free speech, from the waiting hands of public officials; forced them to run the gantlet, a form of punishment revived from the Stone Age; stripped them naked; covered them with tar; escorted them out of the cities and turned them over to the mercies of the desert.

Police and Courts Seem to Conspire Together

One of the deep-rooted grievances of honest working-people is that during strikes, in order to

clear the streets, police magistrates will accept the unsubstantiated testimony of the police against prisoners who have been arrested upon charges of vagrancy or of disorderly conduct, etc., and that these judges "railroad" troublesome pickets or labor-leaders to jail. In this way the police and the courts act together and judicial position becomes merely accessory force; that is to say, it does not perform the function of sifting evidence and securing justice; it is only another heavy hand pushing the working-man or labor-leader to prison.

The number of working-men fined or imprisoned on these counts is so large that this abuse alone has spread among them a personal complaint against our courts. I was astonished, during a meeting of self-respecting working-people, at the large number of hands lifted up when some one asked how many of those present, women as well as men, had ever been in jail. "A man arrested is a man guilty," says Carl Hovey, "according to a regulation and perfectly sincere police feeling everywhere." Unjustifiable arrest is a very terrible thing to happen to citizens in a republic. It disfranchises them mentally and creates in them an antagonism to the state in which they seem to have no rights.

The working-man sees, too, in this extension of police jurisdiction another evidence that the master class is adding to its arbitrary power. The opposition of working-men to injunction pro-

ceedings is largely fear of this arbitrary power. For the injunction not only stops intended action, but it throws further proceedings (contempt proceedings, so-called) into a court without a jury. Easy riddance of troublesome and successful officers of the labor army in a time of strife is so congenial to the employers that the judges are naturally accused of collusion with them.

Disregard for the Legal and Civil Rights of Working-men

Readers of conservative New York newspapers cannot understand the opposition of labor unions to a State constabulary. If they could hear a description of the behavior of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary during the street-car strike in Philadelphia, they would thoroughly understand the attitude of the unions. This is also the attitude of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, which reports, in regard to the Pennsylvania State Constabulary:

"The legal and civil rights of the workers have on numerous occasions been violated by the constabulary; and citizens not in any way connected with the dispute and innocent of any interference with the constabulary have been brutally treated, and in one case shot down by members of the constabulary, who have escaped punishment for their acts. Organized upon a strictly military basis, it appears to assume in taking the field in connection with a strike that the strikers are its ene-

mies and the enemies of the state, and that a campaign should be waged against them as such." *

In the New York *Globe* of February 14, 1917, was this significant editorial:

"If a State police force is established, it should be dedicated to the square deal—its commanders should be as much alive to protecting one sort of rights as to protecting another sort. Free riot is bad, but quite as bad is the practice of denying to men the use of the highways and the dispersal of lawful meetings. Think of such gross illegality as has occurred in Paterson and in Little Falls and the recent deportations from Everett, Washington. When employers get behind the law, the whole of the law, the labor unions are likely to do the same. As long as one element is allowed to pick and choose as to the part of the law to be enforced, so other elements are likely to do the same."

The machine-gun firing from the moving train into the tents of strikers at Cabin Creek, West Virginia; the kidnapping and maiming of labor leaders at Calumet, Michigan; the bloody volley of the militia into women and children at Ludlow, Colorado; the rain of bullets shot by a posse of citizens at the I. W. W. passengers on a steamer trying to land at Everett, Washington; the deportation of twelve hundred miners at Bisbee, Arizona, by the mine owners and the lynching of Little, a crippled labor leader at Butte, form a

* United States Commission on Industrial Relations, Vol. I, p. 98.

crescendo of outrage upon the civil status of working-men. The theory of the employers still seems to be that if labor leaders can be killed or silenced, industrial "unrest" will end.

Who Are the Greater Criminals?

Colonel Weinstock's question in his report to Governor Johnson is being very generally asked:

> "Who are the greater criminals; who are the real violators of the Constitution; who are the real 'undesirables'—these so-called unfortunate members of the 'scum of the earth' or these presumably respectable members of society"—viz., the aiders and abetters of police and judicial outrages?

The Boston newspapers at the time of the Lawrence strike published little that explained the attitude of the strikers, nothing that upheld them. An educated man close to both sides of the situation sent a communication to the liberal Boston papers, but it was not published.

In California and in Michigan the labor leaders accuse the press of suppressing important news. The New York *Call,* a Socialist newspaper, finds one of the chief reasons for its existence in the fact that it "regularly publishes news not found in other papers."

Another form of suppression is the silence of intellectual leaders. Great intellectual equipments capable of rational solution of economic

problems are not heard from at industrial crises. Harvard College, only twenty-five miles from Lawrence, did not concern itself with the "Lawrence strike" except to add a rifle corps to the military contingent.

The Commissioner of Labor, in his report to the Senate upon the Lawrence strike, presented July, 1912, said:

"The average rate of wages for 21,922 textile mill employees was sixteen cents per hour. Approximately one-fourth (23.3 per cent.) of the total number earned less than twelve cents an hour; and about one-fifth (20.4 per cent.) earned twenty cents and over per hour." *

In Los Angeles the building trades early in 1910 went out on a strike for an eight-hour day. When the strike had been in progress a few weeks, the labor men wrote a letter to the Merchants and Manufacturers Association asking for a peace conference. No reply was received, but the Los Angeles *Times* announced next morning that the communication had been consigned to the waste-paper basket. A calculated insult began the trouble.

One explanation of this stubbornness among employers is that when the older men studied political economy the "Manchester School" and

* Strike of Textile Workers in Lawrence, Mass., 1912.—Sen. Doc. 870; 62 Congress, 2 Sess.

laissez faire were dominant. The go-as-you please economic theory, added to the Jeffersonian political principle that the best government is the one that governs least, has shut the minds of many of our successful men to the newer economics so largely derived from social values.

In their attempt to destroy trade-unions, employers of labor in the United States lag behind the industrial experience of Europe. Trade-unionism has, on the whole, made for industrial peace and patriotic service. When strikes are threatened, it ought to be simpler for employers to explain their position to one or two leaders than to thousands of employees. It is certainly easier in time of strikes to deal with a few representatives of labor than with a mob of workmen. The contention that all labor-leaders are corrupt is not conclusive nor can it be substantiated. The control of munitions manufacture in England could not have been secured by the government had it not been for the trade-unions.

The Constitutional Right to Free Speech Abrogated

Attacks by the police upon freedom of speech are, of course, contrary to law. Honorable William Dudley Foulke, when an advocate of an unpopular doctrine had been forbidden to speak in Chicago, wrote to the Chicago *Record-Herald* protesting. He said that any one abusing the

right of free speech could be punished for it after the offense, but that to forbid a man in advance to speak, on the assumption that he is going to say something illegal, was a clear violation of the Constitution.

"At Dayton, Ohio, Socialist speakers were acquitted by a judge who ruled that the ordinance under which they had been arrested was unconstitutional, since it seeks to make a chief of police a sole guardian of the rights of the people to use public streets for all public purposes except the right of public travel."

The several States of the Union parted with little of their police power in equipping the Federal Government. They now exercise great police power through cities to which they give charters and through the sheriffs of counties.

"It is a well-established principle that municipal police ordinances," says Ernst Freund, in his authoritative volume, "The Police Power," page 57, "like all other municipal ordinances, must be reasonable in order to be lawful."

The question then is, What police power is reasonable? Freund lays it down that the right of criticism of existing forms of government is practically unlimited. Consequently, ordinances forbidding such discussion would be unreasonable and so unconstitutional.

After the Union Square bomb the New York *Nation* said (March 28, 1908):

"Force is but a feeble weapon in dealing with unrest and agitation, because it cannot check the spread of ideas. The police may disperse a mass meeting, but, after all, they have done little or nothing. The abhorrent doctrine runs like a plague through the masses—passed by word of mouth, by circulars, and by the revolutionary press. There is only one way to combat it effectively and that is by reason. If we cannot marshal arguments to destroy the fallacies and the half-truths upon which the structure of socialistic and anarchistic theory rests, our case is, indeed, hopeless."

Before the war freedom of speech was being more and more repressed, less ostensibly in the East than in the West, by police interference with public meetings; more subtly by the attitude of the conservative press with its increasing power, by laws for censorship, and by the actions of monopoly agencies.

Courtenay Lemon, in *The Social War,* February, 1917, said:

"The methods by which free speech is curtailed and abolished fall naturally into five heads: (1) by acts of State legislatures; (2) by court usurpations; (3) by police outrages; (4) by postal legislation and post office department rulings; (5) by the activities of that unique body—a private organization with public powers—the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice.

"In the State of Washington to say anything 'tending to encourage disrespect for law or for any court' is a crime. It would follow that the law may not be brought into disrespect even for the sake of promoting

its repeal—the new blasphemy. In seven States we have legislative enactments against 'blasphemy' and thirty-six States have prohibited 'profanity.' In several States atheists, infidels, and even agnostics are expressly prohibited from testifying, by which every irreligious heretic is denied one of his most elementary civil rights. Vermont provides that 'a person who defames a court of justice, or defames the magistrate, judge, or justice of said court, as to an act or sentence therein passed, shall be fined.' . . ."

Substitute Brains for Bayonets

If the exercise of the police power—that is, whether it is to be violent or reasonable—depends largely upon its administration, if the administration of the police power depends upon social conditions and upon public opinion, then in the last resort police methods are an expression of the public state of mind.

A secretary of Commerce and Labor said not long ago before a Congressional Committee:

"The conflict (between capital and labor) is irrepressible. If the Government does not find and establish rules by which the development may be intelligently and normally had, then ultimately the expansion and the progress will be had in defiance of rules that do not fit. That has been the story and that will be the story of development everywhere."

The American public must be shown simple, rational methods to put in the place of our present

turbulent methods of dealing with industrial controversies. These successful rational methods exist. In Australia, in Canada, in England, in Germany, and in America there are governmental methods that have lessened the number of appeals to force. There are, too, unofficial experiments that have been encouraging.

Compulsory Arbitration Logical

Compulsory arbitration seems logical and to stand on the same basis as our courts of justice, which are compulsory in their action; but compulsory arbitration is not favored by workingmen.

In compulsory arbitration Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, sees the possibilities of a new judicial tyranny. In Australia, in Canada, and in England the tendency is from arbitration to conciliation.

In Canada the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907 applying to all public utilities has proved very helpful. In these industries it is unlawful to strike or lock out until a Government investigation of causes of the dispute has taken place. It abandons arbitration, relies exclusively on discussion, conciliation, publicity, and public opinion. From March 22, 1907, to October 18, 1916, 212 disputes were referred for adjustment of which twenty-one resulted in strikes that were not averted or ended, that is to

say, in ninety per cent. of the cases, the law's provisions were effective.

In the United States the Erdman Act, enacted in June, 1898, provided for mediation proceedings of a purely voluntary character between railroads and employees directly engaged in the movement of trains. During the first eight and one-half years following the passage of the law, only one attempt was made to utilize it. Within the next five years, however, its provisions were evoked sixty times. Forty of the sixty-one cases were settled without recourse to strikes, —twenty-eight through mediation, eight by mediation and arbitration and four by arbitration only.

In 1913, the demand of conductors and trainmen on forty-two Eastern railroads having met with a refusal on the part of the latter to enter into direct negotiations, the Newlands Law, which had been pending in Congress, was rushed through that body. In general it re-enacted the provisions of the Erdman Law relative to mediation, creating in addition the offices of Commissioner of Mediation and Conciliation and a United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation. Under this Board, fifty-six controversies were adjusted between July 15, 1913, and May 15, 1916,—forty-five by mediation and eleven by mediation and arbitration.

The Adamson "Eight-Hour Law" of 1916, which stayed for a time the danger of a tie-up

on all the railroads of the country and which has been sustained as constitutional by the Supreme Court, was not called into existence by the occasion which brought it before the public. Mr. Adamson, as Chairman of the Committee on Transportation, and his committee had conferred for years with the parties to the dispute, and had drafted a bill which they were only waiting for a fitting opportunity to present. It was not an emergency bill, but the result of a score of years of study and conference.

In New York at the time of "the shirtwaist strike," Mr. Louis Brandeis devised a preferential union scheme.*

"The preferential union shop was designed to meet the *impasse* arising from the insistence of the manufacturers upon an open, and of the union upon a closed, shop. Under this arrangement the manufacturers bound themselves to maintain union conditions as to hours, wages, etc., and to give the preference to union members in employing and retaining workers. On their side the unions bound themselves to admit on reasonable terms all workers who should apply for membership, to enforce the discipline of the shop among their members, to restrain them from unauthorized strikes, and generally to see that they lived up to the terms of the protocol.

"During the year ending December 11, 1911, this machinery had been utilized for the settlement of 1,418

* See U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, whole number 146.

grievances, of which 1,283 were brought before it by the unions and 135 by the manufacturers."

The shirtwaist protocol was effective for five or six years in preventing serious dissension in the industry and settled through its committee thousands of complaints without recourse to strike or lockout. Owing to a change in the officers and a new policy of the Employers' Association, and consequent grievances on the part of working-people, there occurred a long and bitter strike and lockout in the Spring of 1916. This resulted in a revised agreement, believed in some respects to be better than the protocol as a means of keeping peace in the industry.

Great Britain, "the nursery of peaceful methods of adjusting labor difficulties," has made great strides in rationalizing labor disputes.

"The most important factor, however, in the progress made along the lines of conciliation has been the attitude of the British labor unions themselves. Article 3, Rule 1, of the by-laws of the General Federation of Trade Unions reads: 'It is the purpose of the General Federation to promote industrial peace, and by all amicable means, such as conciliation, mediation, references, or by the establishment of permanent boards, to prevent strikes or lockouts between employers and workmen, or disputes between trades or organizations. Where differences do occur to assist in their settlement by just and equitable methods.' The British Federation of Trade Unions has, as a rule, acted up to the very spirit of this by-law."

Why Court Disaster?

The United States with its many legislatures, its regurgitation of the doctrine of States' rights as attempted in California and Idaho, cannot expect to give quick relief to a critical situation. On the contrary, we in America have more dangerous conditions, more serious infractions of individual liberty, and at the same time more political rigidity. What can we expect, then, except disaster unless we turn our backs upon a further appeal to force and apply reason to our industrial problem?

I find industrial engineers affirming that much of the trouble between employers and their workmen is due to the employers not knowing their job. Even when factories or workers are well organized by experts, the heads of the corporation often ruin the whole organization and spoil results. If the employer is not infallible and the employee is not reliable, they must either develop a new co-operation from within or yield to a supreme power from without.

Under the commissionership of Arthur Woods in the city of New York, a new relationship between the police and citizens was cultivated; one full of significance both for the better understanding of the function of the police and for sympathetic and intelligent treatment of disturbances of public order.

Not only were the police instructed to handle crowds with patience and with intelligent perception of the rights of citizens, as to street-speaking, et cetera; but the police actually tried to make friends of the boys in the congested districts who have always had too many reasons to regard the police as their natural enemies. The Junior Police League numbered some 4000 uniformed lads. These exchanged an ideal of depredation for one of civic service—the hero gunman for the hero "cop."

During the garment makers' strike in the spring of 1916 and the car strike in the autumn, the attitude of the police was such as to win the approbation of the strikers themselves.

While the labor unions and the representatives of the working-men in general are firmly set against compulsory arbitration, yet some method of enforcing a judicial settlement of strikes may appear from a quarter different from that in which it has been looked for. The Adamson Eight-Hour Law and its discussion in committee point to a view clearly held by Congress that it may exercise nation-wide power over labor disputes. Besides boards of arbitration and conciliation, with State or Federal power, Congress itself, as representing all three factors of labor disputes—capital, labor, and the public—seems likely in the future to exert an influence amounting to compulsory arbitration at what might be called its source.

The attitude of attention and of co-operation displayed by President Wilson toward labor questions is keeping them within the protection of government concern and remedy, where they belong, and where alone they can safely be answered.

VII

UNJUST LAWS AND HOW TO REMEDY THEM

"I fear that the many outrages of labor organizations, or of some of their members, have not only excited just indignation, but at times have frightened courts into plain legal inconsistencies, and into the enunciation of doctrines which, if asserted in litigations arising under any other subject than labor legislation, would meet scant courtesy or consideration."

CHIEF JUSTICE CULLEN OF NEW YORK,
Attitude of Courts in Labor Cases,
GEORGE G. GROAT, p. 32.

"The true grounds of decision are consideration of policy and of social advantage, and it is vain to suppose that solutions can be attained merely by logic and general propositions of law which nobody disputes. Propositions as to public policy rarely are unanimously accepted and still more rarely if ever are capable of unanswerable proof. They require a special training to enable anyone ever to form an intelligent opinion about them."

JUDGE HOLMES,
Attitude of Courts in Labor Cases,
GEORGE G. GROAT, p. 32.

"Justice is essential to a program of self-preservation. The only way that America can protect itself, that the rich and the poor can protect themselves, is by doing justice."

PROF. T. N. CARVER,
Essays in Social Justice, p. 32.

"Bentham's Utilitarianism, after superseding both Natural Right and the blind tradition of the lawyers, and serving as the basis of innumerable legal and constitutional reforms throughout Europe, was killed by the unanswerable refusal of the plain man to believe that ideas of pleasure and pain are the only sources of human motive."

GRAHAM WALLAS,
Human Nature in Politics, p. 13.

CHAPTER VII

UNJUST LAWS AND HOW TO REMEDY THEM

A New York judge who halted for a moment in Broadway recently to gaze up at a sky-scraper, was prodded by a policeman and told to "Move on." He moved on. His dumb obedience illustrated the attitude toward the law of the average American, who, while he may fume or grumble or prevaricate, nevertheless accepts a law pretty much as if it came from Sinai. There is a good deal of English law-abidingness inborn in the old-time American, hence his astonishment and alarm when he hears his laws challenged as fundamentally unjust.

But that is just what is happening today. Our laws are disparaged, even scoffed at, by large numbers of our fellow-citizens.

For some years President Samuel Gompers, vice-president John Mitchell, and Mr. Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor, one of the largest bodies of working-men in the country, were under serious charges of contempt of court. The redoubtable Mr. Gompers is reported to have offered as his solution of the

matter the impeachment of Judge Wright. Shortly before we entered the war Mr. Gompers publicly declared that if laws were passed which forbade working-men to strike, they would not obey the laws,—"You may make us law-breakers, possibly, but you are not going to make us slaves." *

The Socialist Party, in its Chicago platform, calmly recommended the dissolution of the United States Senate and of the Supreme Court.

If in the large, as represented by their unions and programs, the people flout the law, their disrespect is even more apparent when they speak for themselves. The working-men's label for our government is a "plutocracy," "an oligarchy," "a government by injunction"—one of tyranny, not of law. He laughs at law and quotes you the kidnapping of Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone from Colorado into Idaho, and its subsequent "legalization" by the Supreme Court, which found it could not inquire into the circumstances of a kidnapping by civil officials. Or he echoes Mr. Gompers's seditious regret, "What we should have done then was to have pursued the kidnappers."

"Disregard for law is fast becoming an American characteristic," is the finding of the National Education Association in a report on a system of moral instruction for the public schools.

* Before the Public Service Commission of the State of New York, New York *Times*, February 8, 1917.

President Taft, in a speech at the Academy of Political Science, in New York, referred to the "lighter regard for law and its enforcement in America as compared with England, and a consequent less rigorous public opinion in favor of the punishment of crime."

President Hadley, of Yale, urges as a cure for our present low standards of public morality a higher reverence for law, which he thinks the country sadly lacks.

A growing disrespect toward law in a people noted for their legalistic attitude toward their problems is significant. The Revolutionary War originated in legal controversy. The long correspondence between the United States and Germany before we entered the war illustrated our devotion to legal considerations.

An ambassador from a great empire told me that with one of our recent presidents he could never get outside a legal discussion of subjects.

Americans are legal-minded, yet they are showing disrespect for the law. Under such circumstances there may be something the matter with the law or with its administration.

This light regard for law is a new condition of things in America, especially this bitter, working-class feeling against the law—unless we compare it to the antagonism evinced by the abolitionists toward the slave-laws in the years before the Civil War. The working-people today in America are not behind the laws; they do not regard

them as *their* laws, but as the laws of "hostile interests." It follows naturally that they distrust their law-makers and even their courts. That was the meaning of their demand for the initiative, the referendum, and the recall (even of judges). These new instruments, they hoped, would rescue their lost share of political power; would resurrect democratic government and reinstate justice.

The dissatisfaction of our working-classes with the blind goddess must not be confused with the mob spirit that often sweeps away "our best citizens" when a negro is concerned, nor with the legal play of "the criminal rich." It is not the anarchist's revolt against all law, or the well-understood unpopularity of the law with criminals which the early American poet Trumbull wittily hit off:

> "No man can feel the halter draw
> With good opinion of the law."

There are thousands of critics of our laws and courts who are neither masked and cowardly fiends, nor rich law-breakers, nor anathematizers of law, nor criminals; but progressive citizens possessed with a humane passion for a profounder justice. Even the dean of one of our leading law schools before a body of lawyers, including ex-President Taft, is reported to have said that "the free democratic government that

prevailed here was neither free, nor democratic, nor a government."

Laws and Courts Against Workers

Working-men are convinced that both laws and courts are against them. They are astonishingly well informed, too, as any one who hears them talk can testify, about legislation and about judicial decisions that affect their class. They are not, in the commonly accepted phrase, "deceived by agitators and demagogues," nor are they stirred by "vague unrest." Their complaints are clear and specific. The laws and the courts are against them, but are for their employers.

To begin with, the working-people see that proposed legislation in their favor or for their protection is fought by wealth. A recent New York fire commissioner's order for more fire escapes upon factories was fought in the courts by the manufacturers. The law requiring owners of tenement-houses to put running water upon every floor of the tenement-houses was bitterly opposed as unconstitutional even by a great religious corporation. The present Tenement-house Law was fought in rather a disorganized way by the vested interests, which have since organized most effectively. The efforts of organized labor to secure an eight-hour day on all public works was also bitterly opposed. The fight waged at Albany in the legislature, against

the bill limiting the working-hours for women and children to fifty-four hours per week, and also against the law bringing mercantile establishments more fully under the control of the Department of Labor, are other instances.

Then, again, laws beneficial to working-people are passed, but are not enforced. Referring to the enforcement of the New York building-laws, the Wainwright Committee on Employers and Liability says:

"It was repeatedly brought out in the testimony presented to us that those sections of the labor-law dealing with scaffolds, the covering of floors, the fencing of shafts and openings, and the protection of workmen are flagrantly violated, particularly in New York City."

The laws, it is further claimed, are interpreted by the courts in a fashion hostile to labor. The following is a partial list of important decisions by high courts.

"Refusing to haul cars a conspiracy. T. A. & N. M. Ry. *vs.* Pa. Co., 54 Fed. Rep. 730, April 3, 1893. Taft, Circuit Judge."

"Quitting work is criminal. Same, April 3, 1893. Taft, Circuit Court."

"Arbitration unconstitutional. Supreme Court of U. S., in Adair *vs.* U. S., decided January 27, 1908, 208 U. S. 161."

"A strike is unlawful. U. S. *vs.* Cassidy et al., 67 Fed. Rep. 698, 185."

"A workman considered 'under control.' T. A. & N. M. Ry. *vs.* Pennsylvania Co. et al., 54 Fed. Rep. 746, March 25, 1893. Ricks, Circuit Judge."

"Effort to unionize shop unlawful. Lowe et al. *vs.* Lawler et al., 208 U. S. 274, February 3, 1908."

"Unlawful to threaten a strike. John O'Brien *vs.* People ex. rel. Kellogg Switchboard & Supply Co., 216 Ill. 354, June 25, 1905."

"Unlawful to ask reasons for discharge. Wallace *vs.* Georgia, Carolina & Northern Ry. Co., 94 Ga. 732, June 18, 1894."

"Legal to jail a man a month without trial. Oregon Supreme Court. Longshore Printing and Publishing Co., Appt., *vs.* George H. Howell et al., 26 Ore. 527."

"Constitutional to discharge a man for belonging to a union. Wm. Adair *vs.* United States, 208 U. S. 161, January 27, 1908."

"No remedy for labor except personal suit. Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court. Dianah Worthington et al., Appts., *vs.* James Waring et al., 157 Mass. 421."

The Right to Strike Curtailed by the Courts

"Every argument that strengthens the conviction that a temporary prohibition of any sort of strike is permitted by the Constitution is a stronger reason for the opposition of labor. The reasons lie, furthermore, deep-rooted in the history of industrial struggles. Workmen have not been free very long to make demands for improved conditions or to enforce such demands. One hundred years ago a concerted movement for higher wages constituted an illegal conspiracy and was punishable as such. In America the application of the common law of

conspiracy to the activities of labor unions was slowly weakened by the decisions of courts. In England the modification was accomplished by statute. In this respect the English workers are better off, for, dependent as the American workers are upon the decisions of the courts, they are controlled by liberal and reactionary decisions alike. Strange as it may seem there is developing a tendency here and there on the part of the courts toward a more illiberal attitude with respect to the activity of unions. A man was freer to strike in Massachusetts fifty years ago than he is today, and the only difference is in the attitude of the courts. In West Virginia a few years ago a court held a miners' union to be an illegal conspiracy. In Arkansas within a year a court has held that a union in striking was illegally interfering with interstate commerce.'' *

Another complaint continually heard among working-men is that laws passed by the people's representatives are nullified by supreme courts, and that the courts thereby assume legislative powers. L. B. Boudin, in the *Political Science Quarterly*,† puts the matter clearly:

''Each case is supposed to stand 'on its own merits,' which, translated into ordinary English, simply means that each law is declared 'constitutional' or 'unconstitutional' according to the opinion the judges entertain as to its wisdom. Since there are no longer any set rules by which the judges can be guided, since they are left to determine the propriety and wisdom of laws according to the canons of politics and statesmanship,

* *The Survey*, January 27, 1917, p. 479.

† Volume 26, pp. 238-70.

they naturally exhibit those differences of opinion which we expect to find in legislative bodies."

Another fact that weakens the popular confidence in the judiciary is that our highest courts rarely pronounce a unanimous decision. The "dissenting opinion" has educated the American citizen. He does not forget that he is nominally governed by majorities, but he has come to believe that on the bench the opinion of the majority need not necessarily be in accordance with justice. Nor ought justice, he thinks, in a court of nine, like our Supreme Court, to depend upon one man.

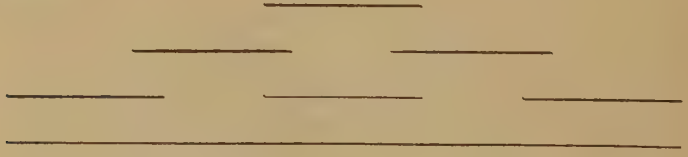
The people are confused, too, by the conflict of opinion between different courts. Let me cite a case prolific of amused comment: In the year 1910 Basso, a bootblack, in the basement of one of the business blocks of Rochester, refused to serve Burks because the latter was a negro. The law of the State of New York requires full and equal accommodation in hotels and "other places of public accommodation." The question, therefore, was: Is a bootblack-stand a place of "public accommodation"? The first court said, "no"; the second, "yes"; the third, "no"; the fourth, "yes, but."

Immunity of Wealthy Criminals

The immunity of wealthy criminals has helped to disillusion the man of the dinner-pail. The as-

sistance given by the legal profession to ambitious and desperate men in securing, through our legislatures, statutes favorable to their enterprises, but deadly to public interest, has contributed to destroy the people's respect for the majesty of the law. They discover, let us say, through "investigations" that a great wrong has been done. Millions of money cannot be accounted for; vast expenditure is recorded without adequate showing in property values; what seems a gigantic robbery has been perpetrated at the expense of the public; yet, to the amazement of the simple-minded, the officials and owners of the corporations, who are well known, show no signs of fear and eventually go unpunished.

A famous district attorney explained to me how this happens. He took some matches from a match-stand on the table we were sitting at, and arranged them as you see the lines in this diagram:



He said:

"Suppose each one of these matches to be a law. Suppose, then, our friend, whom everybody believes to have committed great frauds, is undertaking to carry out plans that these laws oppose. He approaches one of the laws and finds that it stands firmly in his way like

a fence. If he were to lay his hand upon that law or try to jump over it, he would immediately be nabbed and prosecuted, probably successfully. But he doesn't so much as lay a finger on the law. Under the guidance of his legal adviser, he merely passes along in front of it until he finds a way around. He thereupon proceeds in a similar fashion to find a gap between other laws, through which he just as freely progresses. Very likely he is again confronted by further obstacles, but he merely repeats the same cautious and successful tactics. He does not interfere with the law, for that would render him liable, but he gets around the law. If, finally, he runs up against a law which, as far as can be seen, has no hole in it, and really bars his way, he has only to secure or to call upon powerful political backing, to pass a bill favorable to his objects, which his legal adviser actually draws up, and so he proceeds *—always according to law.''*

A Class Control of Law

The working-people, furthermore, through their most ''trusted representatives,'' who to our shame it has to be admitted are labor-leaders, persistently demur at the class spirit in which the law is administered. High executive officials, courts, and law officers, it is contended, are swept along by this class bias, consciously or unconsciously, into grossly illegal action. A case in point was the arrest of McNamara.

In a letter addressed by Victor L. Berger (the first Socialist Member of Congress) to the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives,

McNamara's arrest, leaving out of consideration his guilt or innocence, was declared in every particular to be illegal.

"McNamara was not a fugitive from justice, and the Governor of Indiana did not take the trouble to make sure of the facts. The police judge had no proper jurisdiction, since the law specifically provides that the accused shall be brought 'before the Circuit, Supreme, or Criminal Court.' The police and private detectives who made the arrest had no legal right to do so, since the law provides that such arrests must be made by a sheriff or constable. The seizure of McNamara's private papers was illegal. The Indiana statutes (Sec. 56, act of 1905) define the right of Search and Seizure. No such act as McNamara's abduction is therein permitted. Amendment 4 of the Federal Constitution was also violated."

The fact that McNamara was proved to be guilty does not justify illegal action against him either by the police or by the courts.

In short, the working-man contends that long after the destruction of monarchical forms of government, class-control still goes on even in a democracy; that far from "the majority governing for all," Mr. Taft's artless assumption, in reality a capitalist minority governs for itself alone. This skeptical position held by the people is fortified by the recent findings of economists who discover that aristocracies or power groups have an inevitable tendency to re-estab-

lish themselves under new names, even in republics, and that everywhere dominant classes make the laws in their own interests.

Justice and Right Conflict in Practice

Finally, the people perceive that justice and right are not identical. If you hear no other complaint voiced by the working-classes against their employers, you will hear the accusation of hypocrisy. They do not practice in business, it is charged, the altruism of their religious faith, but look out only for number one, protecting themselves behind laws, against the plain promptings of humanity.

What is more, the people do not understand justice which is only the grist of legal machinery. Merely to receive the benefit of the law is not, in their opinion, to receive justice, which might well be, to their way of thinking, something better than the conclusive decision of the court of last resort. For instance, a vice-chancellor in Jersey City refused to consider the "common sense" argument urged repeatedly by a litigant, and replied, "I never knew that the Court of Equity was supposed to supply sense to litigators. All it has to supply is justice." But, somehow or other, "common sense" and "a square deal" are popular synonyms for justice, and describe the only kind the masses believe in.

The confusion of legal and moral ideals is not

strange, nor purely the result of ignorance. Not only is ideal right what the unsophisticated imagine to be the aim of the law, but it is actually what philosophers have depicted as justice in a true republic, and what, historically, the law of the Greeks, more nearly than Roman or English law, strove to display.

The law of Moses, too, knew no distinction between right and justice; there was only one law. Indeed, we may have the Bible largely to thank (or shall I say to blame?) for the persistent confusion in the popular mind of the moral and the legal. Simple minds in England and America have for centuries been fed upon the idea out of the English Bible that justice should be the same thing as right. To the common people, for instance, Solomon is not only the most splendid of kings and wisest of men, but the most just of judges; yet how candid and convincing his judgments! Ought we to be surprised if, after generations of picturesque Bible teaching, the people seem to have got it into their heads that justice should be identical with right?

Law Should Accommodate Itself to the Right

The American working-man, then, like Henry James's American princess Maggie Verver, is disconcerted by "the discovery that it doesn't always meet all contingencies to be right." The something more, over and above being right that in

the case of the working-man has to be considered, is the law; but owing to his straightforward way of looking at things, it is not to be imagined that right, in his opinion, should accommodate itself to law, but that law, as a matter of course, should be fitted to right.

The relation of justice to right needs much clearing up, more than has been given it, more, of course, than I have room for here. Even jurists who have studied the fundamentals of the law are on this point obscure. One school finds the origin of the law to be custom, and consequently the judge, as "an expert upon custom," dispenses not only justice but also right; that is, as understood by his contemporaries, since he is their spokesman. The other school finds the origin of law to be the sovereign power. In their view, justice and right meet within the definition of the institutions of the day. In a monarchy governed by the theory of the divine right of kings, justice and right proceed from the imperial will, and are as infallible, theoretically, as that which proceeds from Deity. In a democracy governed by the theory of social contract, justice and right are identical for the reason that the citizen, when he receives legal justice, gets all the right coming to him under his contract; in fact, all the right his contract knows anything about.

But the educated proletariat is asking for more than that; it demands a closer compatibility

between justice and right, and would be perfectly willing to go outside the breast of the judge, or the will of the sovereign, or the contract of the citizen to find it. The working-man, perhaps, naïvely expects law to stand for that which among the Athenians the Goddess Themis embodied—abstract right as well as law and order. Possibly we can find the relation of legal justice to moral right by a bit more of analysis and a historical glimpse. If law deals with what "is," and morality with what "ought to be," then we can easily look back to a time when human intelligence was so undeveloped that its customs or laws entirely satisfied it. Usage went as far as conscience saw, because a very simple custom summed up their social and psychological experience. What *was* and what *ought to be* were of necessity one and the same thing, because the mentality of the time could not think them apart. With increasing intellectual scope, a later schism would be inevitable.

Law Should Mobilize Society Creatively

After all, what the working-man wants is not abstract right, which would be less human than old custom and would depend upon the vicissitudes of the metaphysical theories that established its standards. The working-man is seeking a positive ground for law in racial advantage as revealed by modern science. In short, the

working-man, instead of always looking backward for his legal authority, proposes to look forward, and is declaring that whatever looms as for the best interests of mankind must be right and should be law. The object of the law, as he sees it, is not merely to prevent injury, but to create all sorts of new and higher values.

And why cannot the present without arrogance claim to be self-sufficient in knowledge and conduct? The tendency to explain every advance in moral position by reference to the past has been commented upon by Sir Henry Maine as "a curiosity of human nature." Mankind has seemed ashamed to see in its own times reasons for, as well as evidence of, advance. But we have now entered upon a new era whose characteristic is that it will honor the present. Its methods will be to illuminate an old science by the new sciences; it will let light into law by opening windows from law into economics, hygiene, psychology, etc., etc. "The Rule of Reason," as now applied in jurisprudence, must eventually appeal to arguments discovered in the broadest prospective advantages to mankind. Charles Ferguson says:

"That day is at hand in which it would be possible for a lawyer to stand up in court and say, 'I admit that I am not in line with the precedents; but I ask judgment on technical grounds. The law exists to mobilize the creative forces of society; and I am able to

show that the case of my client is in line with the sound rules of city building.' " *

Put the People Behind the Law

Nothing can be more threatening to a democracy than for the rank and file of the people to lack respect for their lawmakers and to harbor suspicion of their courts. From animadversions against the law, the step is an easy one to violation of the law; from lack of confidence in legal methods, the way is not a long one to their overthrow. The activities of our courts, on the other hand, are not so far removed from popular feeling that dissatisfaction among the masses with the attitude of the bench can be allowed to continue with no fear of consequences. Supreme Court decisions have, in the past, been momentous, as many men now living can testify. The Dred Scott decision helped to bring on the Civil War. We must remember, too, that we cannot expect the people to reverence law in the abstract; an abstraction cannot long retain the allegiance of a democracy. They will respect only beneficent laws and good law-makers.

How can the people be put behind the law? What remedy can we apply to the increasing hostility between classes in our republic? Let us look first at simple and partial remedies.

* "The University Militant," p. 31.

Tell the People About the Law

The people could be put behind the law to some extent by making them better acquainted with the law. This would be a method for which we have precedent in American history. The colonists knew their Blackstone. "The Men of '76" waged the Revolutionary War more upon legal technicalities than because of actual physical grievances. The orators of the Revolution could boast that every patriot was an embryo lawyer. After the outcome of the war, it was again the widespread knowledge of English law that made possible our Constitution.

Voices are continually heard today in people's assemblies and forums, often in broken English, expressing respectfully a pathetic desire to know more about the legal machinery of this country. They ask how laws are made; how State and national institutions can be changed. Lacking this knowledge, is it unnatural that ignorant or suspicious or aggrieved working-men, especially those from overseas absolutism, still fancy themselves in the hands of tyrannical forces?

Why could not evening classes in the law be opened for working-people, where they might become widely acquainted with the subject-matter of law, and, at any rate, with their legal rights? Besides night schools for adults, law could also be taught in the high schools—and, perhaps, in the last year of the grammar school. Such law-

studies in the public schools would give, too, a dignified and intelligent approach to citizenship.

The Twelve Tables were used by the Romans as a schoolbook for their children. If the Americans were to use the Constitution even as a "reader," its nature, at least, could be explained to future citizens who would learn that the Constitution is not a hard and fast contract between the States and the Federal Government—in other words, a dead document—but that such an agreement embodies, of necessity, the living law of the land, and consequently contains within itself an organic principle of growth which accounts for the constructive interpretation which, to the eyes of the uninformed, looks like constitutional revision at the hands of the judiciary. Every child in the United States ought to be taught that the Constitution is not at any rate a boundary-stone, but more like a guide-post, and most like a tree well-rooted in fertile soil.

Popularizing the study of law would do something to correct the people's attitude, for a knowledge of the law ought to disclose legal means out of alleged difficulties. Two prominent Socialists of my acquaintance were greatly surprised "to be shown" by a lawyer friend of mine how many of the things their party demanded could be obtained under existing laws.

Tell the People About Each New Law

There is another method by which the people could be rallied behind the law. Suppose bills of the first importance in Congress and in State legislatures had public hearing before great popular audiences, where the bills could be explained by their promoter and questions might be asked and answered. Public discussion is the essence of peaceful progress in a democracy, but it is rarely afforded in legislative debate, which is too often only a demonstration of power between contending forces, with as little honest controversy as is shown in a tug-of-war contest—worse still, a tug-of-war when an anchor-man's palm has been "greased." With more public discussion we should need less public investigation. Honest public education about pending measures would have a tendency to prevent special legislation hostile to public interest, and would develop among the people sympathy for law-makers and approval of their work—the agreeable confidence that the laws enacted were *their own* laws.

In the State of Washington printed copies of proposed laws are placed in the hands of citizens, which gives them an opportunity to study them before they are finally voted upon. This, at any rate, is a frank invitation for co-operation and is far different from the practice in Eastern States, where citizens' committees have to keep agents at their capitals to watch for "jokers"

and corrupt legislation, which those favorable to such undertakings attempt to have passed while the public are kept in the dark.

Eliminate the Jargon of the Law

Again, why cannot laws be drafted in such clear language as to be intelligible to anybody who can read and understand English? A deal of litigation would be unnecessary and much distrust of the law avoided, if in every legislature there were an official sufficiently a master of the vernacular to frame bills whose phraseology would not itself be a source of misunderstanding. "Half the perplexities of men," says the Duke of Argyll, "are traceable to obscurity of thought hiding and breeding under obscurity of language." Even the New York *Times* is irritated at the delays and misunderstandings due to the obscurity of legal language, and editorially declared, "It would be well if the slang and jargon of the law could be reduced to terms of our common speech."

Broader Education for Legislators and Lawyers

We must ask our legislators—so many of whom are lawyers—and our judges as well, to know something more than the law. Laws are framed and tribunals determine justice, not only accord-

ing to legal, but also according to political, social, and economic principles. The judge who believes, with our new political economists, that poverty can be abolished will hand down different legal opinions from his associate who still holds that poverty is God's judgment on incapacity.

At a meeting of the Association for Labor Legislation, Professor Ernst Freund declared that in his opinion a systematic study of industrial hygiene would revolutionize the attitude of the courts toward labor legislation.

But hygiene is not the only study besides law which a lawyer ought to know. Biology, history, and sociology would teach him that all material things and all human institutions are plastic to evolutionary forces; that law is no exception, and must still further change.

If the people believe that the laws and the courts are against them, and if they demand a change, then one of the first things to be done is for the conservative classes to get used to the idea that change is not necessarily catastrophic.

Thirty years ago I was walking across the quadrangle of a theological seminary with the foremost educator in America. As we passed the library I made some remark about the oblivion that quickly envelops most religious literature. "Yes," said my companion, "the minister's library soon loses its value, but so does the doctor's. Only law stands unchanged." Today an

authoritative writer upon the law freely admits to me that the fundamental laws of property are changing. Yes, even the laws of contract—that stronghold of conservatism—are undermined.

The theological library and the law library may not be approaching a common obsolescence, but those concerned with law must acknowledge that unexpected changes in their science are under way. But change does not spell disaster. Changes take place in our institutions long before they are named. A name does not make a change dangerous. Lowell was a good constitutional lawyer when he wrote:

> "We shape our courses by new risen stars,
> And still lip-loyal to what once was truth
> Smuggle new meanings under ancient names,
> Unconscious perverts of the Jesuit, Time.
> *Change is the mask that all continuance wears*
> To keep us youngsters harmlessly amused."

Out of the midst of the Supreme Court itself comes testimony to the change our laws are undergoing. Justice Holmes encouragingly remarks:

"that it is unavoidable that judges base their judgments upon broad considerations of policy, to which the traditions of the bench would hardly have tolerated a reference fifty years ago." *

The fight for the confirmation by the Senate of the President's nomination of Mr. Brandeis for

* "The Common Law," p. 78.

the Supreme Court was the people's fight to put into the Supreme Court a proven exponent of the living law. The action of the court since then has justified the instinct of the people. The curbing of patent monopolies; the extension of the anti-rebating clauses of the interstate commerce act; the women's minimum wage and men's hours of service laws of many States, sustained by the decision upholding the two Oregon statutes; the upholding of the constitutionality of the Adamson Eight-Hour Law by one vote,—all of these important Supreme Court decisions are significant advantages of a living, rather than a literal, interpretation of our Constitution.

Mr. George Gordon Battle, after a valuable review of notable decisions affecting labor, concludes that, on the whole, they tend to become more sympathetic, and are disposed to take into consideration public policy.* This applies to labor legislation, not to strikes, which we saw were at present adversely dealt with.

As a result, perhaps, of war alarms, reaction against labor unions has appeared in judicial decisions. President Frank J. Hayes, of the United Mine Workers of America, at the biennial convention of his organization at Indianapolis, in January, 1918, referred to the action of the United States Supreme Court sustaining the injunction

* "Address before the People's Forum," p. 16.

See also George Gorham Groat, "Attitude of American Courts in Labor Cases." Columbia University, 1911.

which prohibits his organization from soliciting employees of a coal company to become members of the organization, and said:

"In this crisis the Sherman anti-trust act, and other Federal statutes are set aside to permit the formation of exporting trusts and similar pools, some as if by administrative action and some by express congressional laws. It seems, however, to be declared an open season by the Federal judiciary for hunting labor unions; and this convention should not adjourn without taking some decisive steps for laying before Congress the situation raised by these decisions and of securing legislative assurance against their repetition."

Working-class Control as Unjust as Capital-class Control

We cannot put the people behind the law merely by taking power away from the capitalistic class and by giving it to the working-class. Our problem would not be solved by transferring political power from the capitalistic minority to the proletariat majority. Working-class control would only swing the pendulum to the other extreme and give us working-class justice, just as now we have a capitalistic justice. And we are well enough aware that one control, if we are talking about arbitrary exercise of class power, would be as bad as another. A working-class control would be as unjust as a capitalistic control, for it, too, would be one-sided.

The working-class outlook, on the whole, it has

unfortunately to be noted, is not broad, and some of the decisions adverse to labor we are obliged to account for (and this is admitted by labor men themselves) as the result of immature legislation undertaken at the hasty and querulous call of labor. Some working-men blame their own class for the adverse judicial decisions, and even contend that most of the labor laws declared unconstitutional have been declared so justly. The trouble with the laws, they say, is not so much with the courts as with labor itself, or its legal representatives; for the trouble is in the instincts of the working-class. The instincts of the working-class are to procure some sort of legislation that will protect them, and that will injure, somehow or other, the corporations, by giving small business advantage over corporations. Much of the legislation in the interest of labor has, as can be seen, discriminated against corporations and also in favor of local labor as against race and nationality. Not only was it easier for the courts, but incumbent upon them, to declare such legislation unconstitutional. The fault may lie in the wrong instincts of the working-class, or in the attempt on the part of legislators to satisfy labor by passing some sort of legislation in its favor, but of such a nature as to make the declaration of its illegality certain.

"W. S. Carter, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, spoke from the heart

recently when he said in addressing an audience of brotherhood men: 'Congressmen have long since learned that to oppose the designs of the wealthy men of the United States is to bring upon themselves an avalanche of political opposition that surpasses in its intensity and efficiency even Prussian militarism. When members of these brotherhoods can readily be hired by the funds contributed to a political campaign by these same wealthy men to defeat for election congressmen and others who fought for the legislation objectionable to wealth, let us not be too quick to condemn congressmen. . . . When working people are politically honest and have sufficient political intelligence to distinguish friends from foes, much of which they now bitterly complain will disappear.' "*

Narrow the Gulf Between Stability and Progress

If capitalistic control of legislation is intolerable, and if working-class control would be no better, must we not look for a mean between capitalistic control and working-class control; that is to say, for relation between the two that will give to neither undue power?

"Descriptively speaking, the ideal basis for law, using the word in the narrower sense, would be one which would result in obtaining the greatest good for the greatest number by securing exact justice between man and man, and between man and the state. This,

* "Is Labor for Labor?", the *Evening Call*, January 16, 1918.

as we know, was the generic basis of the common law." *

The complaint of the people today is not only against precedent or prejudice ruling in place of justice; their complaint is not only of undemocratic influences and ignorance vested with judicial authority. They complain of the idea current of justice, that it is founded upon property right, upon sovereign rights, and not on a modern humane estimate of man and his needs in a democratic state.

But we need not only humane contact with our social and economic problems; we need also intellectual contact. A democracy should never forget the warning of John Stuart Mill: "The future of mankind will be greatly imperiled if great questions are left to be fought out between ignorant change and ignorant opposition to change."

Sir Henry Maine noted the conflict between law and progress. "Law," he said, "is stable; the societies we are speaking of are progressive. The greater or less happiness of a people depends on the degree of promptitude with which the gulf is narrowed."

* Judge Lindley M. Garrison, "Ideal Basis for Law," p. 11.

VIII

ARE RICH AMERICANS AIDING AMERCANIZATION?

"... private munificence moved by the spirit of high public duty has never been shown on a finer scale than by American plutocracy working in a democratic atmosphere. Materialist, practical, and matter-of-fact as the world of America may be judged, or may perhaps rightly judge itself, everybody recognizes that commingled with all that is a strange elasticity, a pliancy, an intellectual subtlety, a ready excitability of response to high ideals, that older worlds do not surpass, even if they can be said to have equalled it."

Viscount Morley's Recollections,
Vol. II, p. 109.

"He conceived it to be a fundamentally mistaken policy to use the surplus good of each generation to repair the wastage that it wrought. ... He soon perceived that it was in the political field and through political agencies that his cause must advance."

Joseph Fels' Life,
By Mary Fels, p. 79.

CHAPTER VIII

ARE RICH AMERICANS AIDING AMERICANIZATION?

AMERICA must deal gently with its rich men; they are a natural American product like big trees, tall grain, and mammoth vegetables. Our virgin soil and virgin forests, our water power, minerals, coal and oil, had to fall, under a system of private ownership, into somebody's hands. The possessors of these bounties of nature are our rich men.

Then, too, the growth of cities, under our factory and our mercantile system, which diverted to city life hands that had been supplanted on the land by wonder-working agricultural machinery, increased land values mechanically and enriched landowners.

The private ownership of the machinery of production; the exploitation of new mechanical powers; the competition of machinery with human labor; the bargaining with labor on an individual and commodity basis, again produced rich men.

But, after all, the rich pay a heavy price,—blindness, hatred, and fear.

An inheritor of great wealth, under the obses-

sion that every one is after his money, makes no close friendships but from youth to age wanders over the world in his yacht, suspecting every one he meets. A young man representing enormous interests responded to the summons of the Industrial Commission expecting fully to be assassinated. An American banker, a companion and benefactor of kings, could say to a companion at luncheon: "I never have any fun. I am worried all the time;" and again to a friend at a funeral in a New York church: "I wish I were in that coffin."

How the Rich Can Help

There are three ways in which the rich can assist the adjustment of the poor, particularly the foreign-born, to American institutions and can co-operate in their Americanization.

1. As taxpayers and law-makers; that is, as contributors to the income of the community and as designators by political influence of the way the corporate wealth shall be expended.

2. As benefactors; that is, by direct gifts of money to objects and institutions which they philanthropically establish and develop.

3. By representing ideal Americanism; that is, by their personal influence.

Are the rich Americans then aiding the adjustment of the poor and foreign-born to American institutions in these ways—as taxpayers and law-

makers; as benefactors and philanthropists, as model Americans?

The wealth of America in July, 1917, was estimated as $240,000,000,000. Of course, the figure is changing all the time and just now has been increased by war profits. Our wealth is possessed, for the most part, by less than five hundred thousand persons, if we take the number that paid the federal income tax. How is this vast wealth used directly for the benefit of the poor? What is wealth doing, for instance, to prevent the grossest evidences of maladjustment, such as disease, poverty, vice, vagabondage, crime?

The Fight Against Disease

Wealth is not helping conscientiously the people's fight against disease. The mortality tables depend upon the tax rates and these are fixed to please the pockets of the rich. I shall not forget my astonishment when a New York alderman told me that the amount of sickness in New York depended upon the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. I had supposed that "God in his wise providence" had something to do with it. No, the life and death of the poor are in the pocketbooks of the rich. For the money at the disposal of the city government depends upon the amount that the taxpayers' associations, the real estate interests, the city contractors, the public utility companies desire the city to expend. Some years ago a street

cleaning commissioner in New York asked for an extra appropriation—as I recall it, some $86,000. He did not get it until he had made the city understand that the piles of filth on the East Side would not "stay put" but would dry and blow germs of disease into all parts of the city.

Remember, too, that half the disease and death in the United States is preventable and that prevention is purchasable.

"That a well-to-do class, properly fed and clothed and with opportunity of leisure, will be less susceptible to disease and death than a poverty-stricken class, ill-fed and overworked, has been repeatedly shown by statistics."* "Hard times increase the death-rate." When General Gorgas was asked how to improve health conditions in the United States he is reported to have replied: "Raise wages." Are the rich inclined to raise taxes or wages as a health measure?

As for American poverty, it is officially stated that fifty per cent. is due to sickness. A good deal of the remainder depends upon causes like deficiency in industrial education, lack of employment, lack of industrial insurance to support families in times of sickness, lack of old-age insurance.

Developing and Eliminating the Defections

Below the ranks of the poor who struggle industrially with varying success to keep their heads

* Report on National Vitality, pp. 22, 23.

above water, are the paupers who have become submerged. "Very few of the paupers are so solely because of misfortune," says Henry H. Goddard, in his great book on "Feeble-Mindedness." "Investigations of our almshouses show that a considerable proportion of inmates are mentally defective. They were defective children. Their parents and grandparents were defective—some of them. They should have been looked after in these earlier stages of the problem." *Society should have protected them.* Within three years a New York judge said to me: "There is no place in the State to which I can send a defective until he has committed a crime."

The defectives in Dr. Goddard's tables are in many cases suspiciously connected with children's diseases or with what are called the social diseases,—again matters over which society can exercise control.

Dr. Prince A. Morrow, who was our greatest authority on social diseases, said, "The extermination of social diseases would probably mean the elimination of at least one-half of the institutions for defectives." American wealth is not fighting poverty seriously.

Vice is largely associated with defective physical and mental conditions. One significant record comes from Geneva, Illinois, made by Dr. Bridgman. She found that of 104 girls in that reformatory, committed for an immoral life, 97 per cent. were feeble-minded. "This does not by

any means indicate that 97 per cent. of prostitutes are feeble-minded, because it is only natural to expect that the feeble-minded ones would be the ones to be caught and sent to institutions. This figure, nevertheless, gives some idea of the prevalence of the feeble-minded in this traffic." * Fifty per cent. of feeble-minded is authoritatively said to exist among women of the street.†

Vagrants

Vagabondage is a very serious maladjustment to social conditions; it seems to fly in the face of settled social life, more even than crime and vice. The vagrant, however, is often an honest working-man who has left home to better himself and has never successfully established economic connections in the fields of his ambition; too proud to return home a failure he drifts along until he finds himself a tramp—a hobo.

Day laborers, too, in hard times, easily fall into the ranks below them,—of vagrants. Striking workmen are often arrested and sentenced as vagrants to the satisfaction of conservative interests.

I stood at the application window of the Municipal Lodging House in New York one winter night, as the homeless applied for beds. To my surprise the majority were soldierly-looking men around

* Henry H. Goddard, "Feeble-Mindedness: Its Cause and Consequence," pp. 15, 17.

† Supra.

thirty-five years of age. There seemed to be many foreign-born, to judge from the records, who had been in this country five years, but who had never got regular employment, never "caught on," industrially.

Laziness is now scientifically diagnosed as abnormal and a sign of disease. The collapse and dispersion of a family as a result of sickness and unemployment is being here and there studied and provided against; but the whole problem of vagrancy should have Federal supervision. The problem of vagrancy seems particularly susceptible of great improvement at the hands of a national system of labor bureaus.*

Crime Preventable

As for crime, Dr. Glueck, the psychiatrist at Sing Sing, reports that 87 per cent. of the men he has examined since August, 1916, might just as properly be in the wards of hospitals as in the cells of Sing Sing; that 28 per cent. are defective and 12 per cent. insane.† Again, a condition that better social organization could have prevented. A teacher of trades to prisoners in one of our city prisons told me that if trades were taught in our public schools by which boys could earn their living, there would be much less crime. "But vagrancy and crime are,

* "British System Labor Exchanges," U. S. Department of Labor Bulletin No. 206.

† Dr. Bernard Glueck, *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1918.

to a surprising extent, due to lack of employment." *

In other words, a more social use of the wealth of the community would change every figure in this list of pernicious enemies of national efficiency—disease, poverty, vice, vagabondage, and crime.

Are Gifts Made in the Right Direction?

Are rich Americans making gifts which contribute rapidly to the adjustment of the poor? Are their benefactions melting down inequalities and peculiarities brought from other countries and classes?

There seems to be no limit to the amount American millionaires will give to colleges, medical schools, technical schools, art museums, and libraries. These are undoubtedly great instrumentalities for civilization and education; but they are not immediately powerful elements of assimilation for the rank and file of the population—nine-tenths of whom never go to school beyond the age of fourteen—and have little time for museums and libraries.

The sum-total of gifts, over a thousand dollars each, contributed in America in 1900 amounted to $62,461,304. In 1906 these gifts amounted to $106,000,000; in 1909 to $186,000,000. In 1916 the

* Dr. W. D. P. Bliss, "Unemployment," U. S. Department of Labor and N. Y. Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Report for the year ending September 30, 1916.

total for gifts over $50,000 each was $65,000,000. There are many who think these enormous sums are more than the rich should be expected to contribute for the benefit of the poor. The rich men of America who made these gifts deserve high praise. But we should notice that little of this money finds its way to the slums of great cities to fight poverty in any hand-to-hand fashion.

After all, while the gifts of rich Americans to great foundations seem in a lump sum to be large, the amount is small when the needs of one hundred and one millions of people are considered. Even in our greatest cities, where there are the largest benefactions, the hospital equipment for the care of the poor is entirely inadequate. Meanwhile, it is found by a careful inquiry by the medical profession that the working-classes cannot pay for fifty per cent. of their medical attendance. If in such concrete and well-understood directions as sickness and hospitals the gifts of the rich are not meeting the requirements, we may easily surmise that other philanthropic provisions are not likely to be adequate.

As benefactors the rich of America exert probably less influence upon the poor, especially in the direction of Americanization, than has been supposed. While in England Macgregor computes that fifteen per cent. of the advantages received by the working-man are not paid for by his wages, but proceed from philanthropies, government in-

stitutions, etc., the amount in America must be very much less both because we are more widely spread out, and because our benevolent institutions have a shorter history. Could it also be because the English philanthropy is figured in larger sums?

A New York multimillionaire said to a friend of mine: "Do you know, if America contributed to the Red Cross Fund in proportion to what Canada has contributed, that instead of a hundred millions we should have given a billion and a half. We Americans are 'pikers' in the matter of giving." Then he added significantly: "I am not going to be a piker," and proceeded to spend over a million for an original and constructive public service.

Tyranny of Wealth and Its Conservation

Wealth and its conservation represents on the whole old age and its fears. In the nature of the case, therefore, wealth cannot assist the adjustment of the worker because it is the coming up of the worker to greater power that it dreads. Wealth's fears are best served by labor's weakness.

There is a psychological ground upon which we can base the statement that wealth will not assist poverty to the extent of making it a competitor or until it becomes independent and self-sufficient, which is the very essence of Ameri-

canization. The psychological antagonism of the younger generation to the older, which is a fundamental attitude, out of which flow great social consequences, shows itself in political theories and practice. This revolt at authority of the father is the source of revolutionary programs in states where the rulers force the authoritative attitude upon the people. The Czar was the Little Father and his subjects were his children, with the result that Russia was a breeding place of anarchists, nihilism, socialism, and all manner of attack upon his "papaism." But the attitude of czar, kaiser, emperor, of aristocracies or junkerdom, is not confined to the individual or classes so named; it pertains and clings to groups that have great stakes to lose and fear their weakness as being in the numerical minority—groups that consume by their standards of life incomes that could give comfort, education, and culture to thousands of working-people and their families.

Rich Americans who add to their wealth by monopoly, by privilege, by corruption—legislative, judicial, and police—represent in a democracy the authority and tyranny of the old world which we Americans are at war to displace. There are probably rich men in America as much disturbed by our citizens as the Czar was by his subjects. Rich Americans under this view retard the constitutional adjustment of the immigrant and of the working-classes and hasten a revolutionary adjustment. America cannot cure anarchism by

deportation; for it is not entirely an over-seas product.

Rich Americans, for the most part, have no conception that their country has problems that their money won't settle; troubles that philanthropy, the police, and Billy Sunday cannot cure. They will give millions for education and medicine but not a cent for changing the rules of the political and business game or for new social and economic ideas. They will endow universities, not for the country's good, but to produce more successful men like themselves—more money-makers. The rich seem to have little conception of the organic problems of society; the economic foundation of the government, or of a nation which is a brotherhood and not a mere *Camarilla* for the distribution of privilege.

Personal Influence of the Rich in Cities

Are the rich by their personal influence assisting Americanization? In considering the rich American and his influence we must look particularly in cities, for that is the place which permits largest expenditure, widest contact with many sides of life, and where the rich and poor rub elbows.

Cities have been called ulcers. They swell and fester on the surface of human population, which is only healthy in its sparser distribution. They are full of filth, poverty, and vice.

They breed criminals. They graduate thieves, murderers, and pimps as naturally as universities graduate scholars.

This is not the worst. Cities not only produce vice and crime, they also consume virtue. More horrible than a disease, they appear like diabolical personalities which subsist upon the strength, health, virtue, and noble aspiration produced in the country. A city is a Moloch, the fagots of its fires are human bodies and souls.

A great city like New York furnishes graphic examples of discontent in one family, composed of factory and of office workers, all restless over prodigal display of wealth, seen close at hand. Such a family group shows in itself the ease with which the feeling of the fundamental dissatisfaction at the distribution of attractive things may arise. In one picture it displays not only the social desires of the "soft-handed" city worker, but also the discontent of the laborer,—made all the more prominent by close contact with the lavishness of "Big Business," and of moneyed ease.

Cities Are Funeral Pyres for Human Bodies and Souls

Cities are, therefore, considered abnormal, especially by minds keen to beauty, and by hearts easily wrung at the sight of suffering. The truth is, however, that a city is the school of the spirit. Spirituality grows in cities by means of

the variety and complexity of human relationships.

If the city is a school of the spirit, why have the great cities of the past been the seats of a depravity that can never be disassociated from them? Because they have neither seen nor have they fulfilled their higher intention. Cities have been misunderstood and abused. They have been treated as a rich field of plunder for the few, rather than of spiritual relationships for the many. Mr. H. G. Wells predicts a future population of forty million for the city of New York. Does this mean despair of human nature, or the soul's best chance of service and knowledge?

Vice Flourishes While Riches Increase

A police force cannot be corrupt without the support of "big interests," which are benefited by lenient police administration.

Since both political parties in our larger cities are financially supported by individuals or corporations that expect favors or that fear harm from office-holders or from legislation, it is our rich men in great cities, and not the ignorant voters, who are responsible for bad government. We have not "as good a government as we deserve," but we have as good a government as money can buy. Now the more we pay in bribery the worse the government is. The higher the bribe the worse the service. A government manipulated by pri-

vate corporations is doomed. It becomes a battlefield for giants, who shelter themselves behind the patriotic devices of great parties while the people perish.

The competition of business and of professional life is so fierce, and the prizes for success in great cities so fix the attention of the hardest workers and most competent men, that generally these have no time for politics. The unskilled and less equipped men enter the neglected and deserted field and cultivate it. The politician makes money by cultivating the opportunity of office, just as the business man makes money by neglecting it. Both think of money and not of the city. The business man indeed is, in a way, more culpable. If he is so intent upon gain that he will enjoy the privilege of institutions favorable for his purposes, but will lift no honest finger to protect them, he is morally lower than the man who at least keeps these institutions running—even if he charges a heavy salvage for thus rescuing the abandoned ship of state.

There can be no doubt, too, that the hot pursuit of wealth is a baneful example. We see it politically and socially. The politician is approached for a favor which has a money value for the recipient. Why should he be making other men's fortunes? He therefore asks the question which is the motto of all corruption, "What is there in it for me?" If a rich man may lie about his taxable property, why may not

a politician lie if it is worth his while? At any rate, some of the methods of the rich in securing and protecting their property are openly used as excuses for these corrupt political methods.

The ability and integrity of a metropolis are continually being drawn upon for the management of great enterprises. The reformer or the interested citizen finds it difficult to consider the vested interests intrusted to him and at the same time consider the city's welfare. He soon forgets his independence and becomes dumb to the entreaties of friends who implore his assistance in purifying the government. Suppose he does take part in such movements. The clique he attacks immediately attacks his corporation.

Careless and Extravagant Wealth Forgets Social Obligation

The careless use of money breeds vice and crime. In connection with a hotel robbery in New York, the manager of the hotel said that it was very difficult to find honest hotel servants, especially waiters. They saw so much money squandered on dress, food, and drink that they came to regard the rich as fair prey. They feel towards the rich as a thief feels towards a drunkard asleep in a doorway; why leave him to throw away his money or for some one else to rob.

The records of the United States Department of Commerce, previous to the European War,

show importations of "precious and semi-precious stones" amounting annually to nearly fifty million dollars. Even in 1916 importation of jewels amounted to over forty millions.

New York is the city to which, as to a Mecca, the rich from all over the country come. They have put money in their purse, and they are in New York for a good time. Their banners read, "Money is no object." "The best is none too good."

A friend of mine, a New York broker, received a message from important men in another city announcing that they were coming to Manhattan for a couple of weeks. The telegram ended: "Can't you put us on to something for our expenses?" My friend knew of a stock that was being marked up, and "bought" some for the distinguished visitors. They "made" ten thousand dollars. We can easily understand how these men could spend ten thousand dollars in two weeks when the money came in such a fashion.

In addition to this large transient population of rich pleasure-seekers, there are the many successful rich from other cities who come here to live. New York is a pleasanter place than San Francisco, Butte, Chicago, or Pittsburgh. They come for pleasure. But pleasure for the rich is only to be got through wide social connection. The expenditure of these great fortunes levied by New York, is, with some splendid exceptions, in the direction of social impression. The shorter purses

are always crying out at the advance in prices made by the appearance of Pittsburgh fortunes, or munition fortunes, and the higher figures the new millions are willing to pay for clothes, horses, houses, servants, motors, yachts, or old masters.

Remember, too, that few New Yorkers live within sight of their shops, stores, mills, or mines. The human toil associated with the production of wealth, and the pathetic disparity between the lives of his working-people and his own luxury, ordinarily tend to restrain a man's extravagance at the mint of his fortunes. This restraint is removed when, as in New York, the sources of wealth are distant, as is the case especially with those who have migrated from the scenes of their successful struggles. Extravagance in New York has not the conscientious check of the memory of toil. The greasy operative, the grimy miner, the sweaty iron worker, the bloody "packer," the panting stoker, can all be forgotten in the evening sheen of Fifth Avenue asphalt, and in the social remoteness of fashionable quarters.

Another thing is to be observed. Since social advantages and pleasures are largely the aim of these migrant fortunes, the city and its affairs are no more thought of than if the owner were in Paris or in Rome. The negative example of neglect of civic responsibility, added to the positive example of vice-breeding waste, seriously accuses the rich of a certain class in New York.

There are one or two other ways, channels of

real and harmful influence, by which the rich in New York, in a degree that cannot be said of other cities in America, affect the poor. There is no city in the world where all classes of men and women are so well dressed. Such an outward appearance of comfort and even of elegance is not a disadvantage. The most salient impression of the first Sound Money Parade was produced by the fact that up Fifth Avenue were marching one hundred and fifteen thousand men, ununiformed but all remarkably well dressed. Twenty years later the Preparedness Parade of 1916 gave the same impression of unexampled prosperity.

When we note, as we are forced to in New York, the extremes of feminine fashion, and its expense; when further we perceive shop-girls emulating their customers, we discover the perilous range of vicious temptation for the poor girls who love to display mock finery and artificial complexions.

There is another influence not free from its contribution of misunderstanding between classes in our great cities. This is the effect produced by those who figure as well-to-do in the eyes of the world, but whose relation to servants and tradespeople is marked by closest economy. The rich are too careless about their servants; as the number increases accommodations decrease. Besides this phase there is another, that of neglected bills. Expensive tailors admit that in their exorbitant charges they have to consider and in-

clude the loss from slow accounts, and from those who love to wear the best without paying. This effect of the apparently rich upon the poor is decidedly unfavorable. The poor lose money and respect at the same time.

The Tenement House and Maladjustment

As land values increase, which they must do in a growing country, and especially in a metropolis surrounded by water, the rental value of the land must increase. As land values mount up, the buildings which cover land grow larger. The tenement-homes grow smaller, and children are crowded into the street. That mediæval death by torture—the room which came together and narrowed itself in every dimension upon its victim—is a reality today in New York. The mechanical pressure is rent.

The tenement-house problem in our American cities is one that wealth has studied but has not solved. In New York philanthropic building companies cannot use land that costs more than $10,000 a lot (25 ft. x 100 ft.). This limitation forces model tenement building far uptown—beyond the congested districts. The size of the private house lot, the normal unit, has bedeviled the tenement-house construction. The attempt continually being made to house many families in place of one, on a 25-foot lot, has resulted in covering too large a percentage of the lot

and in banishing light and air from interior rooms.

American cities might well learn of Glasgow, London, and Berlin the advantage of municipal dwellings built on large areas with play space, kindergarten-rooms, up-to-date laundry facilities —in fact, everything that makes for the health and convenience of the family, yet at a moderate rental.

In the city of New York approximately 2,866,000 —that is to say, about 650,000 or 657,000 families—are living in apartments for which they pay under $25 a month rent. This rental means about one-fourth of an income of $1,200 a year. But a rent much below $25 a month in a congested part of the city will not secure bathrooms and rooms for families with several members.

Overcrowded, dark rooms and bad ventilation are friends of the saloon and of all the vicious and criminal influences that make the saloon their clubhouse. Here then is an eminently suitable field for community wealth to be expended in a fashion to assist the Americanization of the poor—particularly the immigrant who on landing finds his home in the lowest grade of tenements. To provide good homes is surely to help Americanization.

The tenements are largely owned by the rich and could be bettered. But here, too, business considerations prevail. It is claimed the land downtown will be needed so soon for commercial purposes, that it would be throwing money away

to build, meanwhile, improved tenements. The city grows by such great strides that these forecasts are plausible, though often mistaken or misapplied.

Even after learning the lesson of complete individualism taught by diminished land values; even after passing zoning laws, New York in order to utilize old residences for tenements is willing to go back on fifteen years of progress in its housing program.

Putting the Question Fairly

The responsibility of the rich for the poor is not merely a critical responsibility, that is to say, not a question merely involving the injurious effect of riches on any side of the social fabric. The relation of the rich to the poor extends to the question of the value of philanthropic effort, the rich man's usual recommendation as a cure for social and industrial ills. The relation of the rich to the poor extends also to the roots of law and justice as, after all, possibly founded in group power, privilege and in class legislation rather than in the dictates of common humanity.

The rich, as landlords much concerned over taxation, can be regarded as controlling the housing problem, the school system, the money spent on public health and, in general, the rate of civic improvement. Above all, the private ownership of public utilities fundamentally affects the in-

come and the administration of municipal government.

"After the war," says the National Municipal League, "you will hear the cry of efficiency and economy in government louder than ever, especially when cities begin to broaden their functions and exercise new ones in coping with new problems. But they should be foreseen." Is it not the duty of the rich, who should be especially well educated and experienced, to take the lead in the new glory of American cities?

If the rich American has not conspicuously assisted the newcomers to this country in their adjustment to its ideas and institutions, he may have earnestly supposed that his principles and his labors contributed to the best interests of the country. As a standard by which to measure his contribution, I would suggest a sentence from a play by Ferdinand Lassalle:

"We owe ourselves to those great purposes for the accomplishment of which generations are sent into the world as workmen. I have done what I could. I feel relieved and happy like one who has honorably paid his debt."

Have rich Americans paid this debt?

American democracy has not learned Nietzsche's lesson: "Life is that which must ever surpass itself." Like a rabble sacking a palace it wastes valuable time putting on the clothes and

accouterments of courts and kings, parading for self-inspection through the hall of mirrors, or calling to each other in childish envy or delight. When shall we recover ourselves and quit this masquerade of the old world? When shall we found a new world of "folks," all participating in the fruit of man's struggle with nature? Democracy like life is that which must "ever surpass itself."

IX

THE WASTE OF IGNORANCE AND COMPETITION

"It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate."

BACON,
on Expense.

"There is enough food wasted daily in New York to give argument to an army of anarchists."

SIR HERBERT BEERBOHM TREE.

CHAPTER IX

THE WASTE OF IGNORANCE AND COMPETITION

THE Commercial Economy Board appointed by the Advisory Committee of the Council of National Defense has the task of cutting down waste in the distribution of all commodities during the war. The Board hopes to obtain the cooperation of citizens in reducing waste.

How important, therefore, it is that we should know the directions in which the country is wasteful. For instance, Mr. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank of New York, is quoted by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in his pamphlet, "The Personal Relation to Industry," as saying: "I have seen the statement that in a single year the loss that could be attributed to labor disturbances in this country totals more than a billion dollars."

If the recommendation of Mr. Gompers to Labor is accepted and carried out,—namely that there should be no strikes during the war,—this annual billion dollars will be saved, a very tidy sum, especially in war times.

As war is fundamentally an economic drive for larger means of wealth, or for defending what

we have, or to secure better terms for our trade,—wages, profits, and prices can make war or peace.

Suppose that the United States finds itself at a loss, after the European struggle is ended, because the warring countries have greater industrial efficiency and can undersell it. Suppose Asiatic markets are closed to us. At any rate, suppose cheaper Asiatic labor going into manufacture can undersell us, we shall be forced back upon efficiency and the saving of waste for prosperity or into war with countries beating us industrially.

All the "isms" which make the capitalists have bad dreams—anarchy, socialism, communism, and the rest,—are merely devices thought of by the poor, or their champions, for giving them more opportunity, for providing a richer and more interesting life. If, therefore, a republic like America can discover ways of bringing these results to pass without the aid of any of these terrifying isms, such information ought to be heeded.

The United States could pay Great Britain's war debts out of its annual waste. We waste in easily controlled directions an amount of property equal to what our people earn. We squander every twelve months more than the combined resources of the central banks of England, France, Italy, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Japan, and Germany. If this amount could be

saved and distributed pro rata to our people the inadequate income of the average working-man's family would be changed to one that placed him in a class of economic independence.

Moral Obligations to Prevent Waste

A nation has no right to permit the degradation of its working-classes, their inadequate education, their physical deterioration, when amazing amounts of property are carelessly allowed to perish. A nation has a moral obligation to prevent waste in the interests of those who lack the necessaries of life and the social opportunity which is built upon substantial income.

The saving of waste is, in fact, so large a subject that it runs quite beyond the items of value which are carelessly destroyed. The whole problem of individual as well as social life is practically the preservation of its potential energy and the prevention of waste. The new psychology, which sums up in the word "libido" the various energies of the individual, can be studied in its relation to the direction of this expenditure. The problem of the individual is to preserve the libido from diffusion and to direct it to the highest strength and most valuable use. Good and bad, right and wrong, are defined by this direction or misdirection.* Our personal life problem is prevention of waste of vital forces.

* Compare William White, "The Mechanisms of Character Formation," p. 320.

Waste Due to Poor Organization and Method

"Already we are beginning to see that, in the light of its possibilities, industry today is inconceivably wasteful. The raw product is won from the earth, it is transported hundreds of miles over expensive railroads, it passes through ten or twenty different manipulators, is manufactured, and passes again through an infinitely complicated series of operations to the ultimate consumer. The great water-power resources of this country are said to be not one-seventh developed. Yet their primary power alone 'exceeds our entire mechanical power in use, would operate every mill, drive every spindle, propel every train and boat, and light every city, town, and village in the country.'" *

The Waste of Mental Power

Two tabulations of men of genius have been made which have been received by scientific men as of considerable authority. Sir Francis Galton, taking one hundred Englishmen of recognized ability, found only four per cent. to be from the working-class. M. Odin made a study of 6,382 men of genius in France. "Labor" was represented by nine per cent. The contrast is so sharp between labor and the upper classes as to lead Monsieur Odin to exclaim "Genius is in things, not in man." Classified, Odin's list is as follows:

* J. Russell Smith, "Industrial and Commercial Geography," p. 398.

Nobility	25.5%
Government officials	20.0%
Liberal professions	23.0%
Bourgeoisie	11.6%
Manual laborers	9.8%

Only a little over one-fifth of the talented were produced by the two lower classes.

These figures confirm the observation of those who have to do with the poor, such as clergymen, social workers, etc., who find unusual latent capacity locked up in conditions of life and of occupation from which it cannot win opportunity for its development.

When it is remembered also that ninety per cent. of the school children of America go no farther than the grammar school, it can be seen how little is done to develop by education the latent powers of the mind. Furthermore, when it is observed that the method of secondary and university education in America has little in it except formal studies supposed to develop the powers of thought,—little for thought itself upon the problems of life, we are not surprised at the comparatively small production of ability distinguished enough to be called talent or genius in gigantic populations of tens of millions. "The rational and causal in education are hardly ever appealed to." When education really brings out what is in our youth, democracy will make magical contributions to civilization.

"But by waste I mean (says Henry W. Nevinson) the multitude of boys and girls who never get a chance of fulfilling their inborn capacities. The country's greatest shame and disaster arise from the custom which makes the line between the educated and the uneducated follow the line between the rich and the poor, almost without deviation. That a nature capable of high development should be precluded by poverty from all development is the deepest of personal and national disasters, though it happen, as it does happen, several thousand times a year. Physical waste is bad enough—the waste of strength and health that could easily be retained by fresh air, open spaces, and decent food, and is so retained among well-to-do children. This physical waste has already created such a broad distinction that foreigners coming among us detect two species of the English people. But the mental waste is worse.

"Boys who might become classical scholars (he writes) stick labels onto parcels for ten years, others who have literary gifts clear out a brewer's vat. Real thinkers work as porters in metal warehouses, and after shouldering iron fittings for eleven hours a day, find it difficult to set their minds in order. . . . With even the average boy there is a marked waste of mental capital between the ages of ten and thirty, and the aggregate loss to the country is heavy indeed." *

Defense of Waste

Waste is even a defended part of our industrial system. In some manufactures, as, for instance, cotton spinning, it is cheaper to permit waste and to speed the machinery, thereby securing larger

* Henry W. Nevinson, "Essays in Rebellion," p. 82.

product, than to go more slowly with a smaller production and provide time for the operatives to save waste.

The shutting down of works when competing businesses consolidate is a common loss of production.

The burning or destruction of crops where there is not a good market in order to produce high prices is a common practice. Excessive freight and commission charges discourage production. Not long ago Jersey fishermen dumped into the sea 1,000 barrels of fish weighing 250 pounds each, because the freight and commission charges would not be met by the price of the fish in New York.

The pigeon-holing of invention, or the rejection of inventions, by companies in control of given outputs, and having capital invested in old machinery, is responsible for enormous waste in terms of possible product. Invention is the method by which the world advances in its power over nature; to throttle invention is to kill progress.

Causes of Waste

Our theory of ownership permits every one to do as he wishes with his property, even to destroy it, and does not encourage a general co-operation, except for personal gain.

Whatever justification may be offered for this

waste, the destruction of the values involved limits the amount of wealth at the disposal of the community, and this limitation of wealth is consciously accomplished by the wealth-producing class. The present organization of business considers waste or suppression of production to be legitimate. The curtailing of economic waste under a competitive and private ownership system seems well-nigh impossible, and its advantage when secured is too largely added to dividends, not wages.

Extent of Our Economic Waste

The following is a significant collection of items of annual waste in the United States, which I have picked up in casual reading: *

1. *Waste through Carelessness and Ignorance*

Natural Resources		
	Soil erosion	$ 50,000,000
	Flood and freshet	238,000,000
	Non-use of water power	600,000,000
Poor Method		
	Lumbering, waste of by-product	300,000,000
	Mining, waste of by-product	55,000,000
	Fuel	500,000,000
	Fire losses	235,000,000
	Cost of insurance	250,000,000
	Fire prevention	450,000,000
	Forest fires	50,000,000
	In smoke, by poor stoking	600,000,000
	Gas	45,000,000
	Inefficiency in national, State, and daylight municipal work	300,000,000
Preventable Diseases of Livestock		93,000,000
Insect and Animal Pests		
	Rats	100,000,000
	Rodents (exclusive of rats)	110,236,000
	Insects	420,000,000

* See Appendix.

2. *Waste through Faulty Economics*		
Transportation Losses		
	Railroad mismanagement	600,000,000
	Transportation accidents	25,000,000
	Careless handling of fish, eggs, fruit	40,000,000
	Decay and loss in transit	1,000,500,000
Labor Maladjustments		
	Occupational diseases	1,000,000,000
	Industrial accidents	13,000,000
	Unemployment	3,500,000,000
	Strikes and lockouts	1,000,000,000
	Domestic inefficiency	300,000,000
3. *Social Waste*		
Personal Extravagance		
	Cheap shows	60,000,000
	Tobacco	825,000,000
	Alcohol	1,600,000,000
	Chewing gum	15,000,000
	Drugs	27,500,000
	Patent medicine	75,476,032
	Soft drinks	107,536,000
	Confectionery	178,000,000
	Food in families	1,012,777,750
Defective Classes		
	Backward pupils	26,000,000
	Feeble-minded	85,000,000
	Insane	135,000,000
Disease		
	Preventable disease	1,000,000,000
	Death of children	2,627,300,000
Illiteracy		1,500,000,000
Homicide and suicide		40,000,000
		$21,189,325,782

Besides the above forms of waste, amounting to $21,000,000,000, there are others of enormous cost, such as: the care and unproductiveness of criminals, care and unproductiveness of alcoholics, care and unproductiveness of drug fiends, fatigue from overwork, over-capitalization in the United States, industrial inefficiency, bankruptcy, undeveloped land in cities.

A. M. Simons in an article, "Wasting Human

Life," quoted in a pamphlet by J. Pickering Putnam, gives the following summary of wasted wealth:

Summary of Wasted Wealth

Using imperfect machinery	$ 3,000,000,000
Twenty-five per cent. of factories idle, could produce	5,000,000,000
Waste of coke ovens	50,000,000
Restriction of patents	2,000,000,000
Manufacture of useless and harmful articles	1,000,000,000
Imperfect methods of agriculture	18,000,000,000
Maintenance of fences	1,250,000,000
Lands used for horses	1,000,000,000
Multiplied production through application of power	27,000,000,000
Bad roads	1,000,000,000
Marketing of farm products	4,500,000,000
Advertising	2,000,000,000
Fire and insurance (unnecessary)	500,000,000
Military and naval expenditures	600,000,000
Unemployed	8,000,000,000
Individual kitchens and housekeeping plants	1,728,000,000
Possible production of nine million people needlessly killed	18,000,000,000
Sickness exclusive of nursing by families	1,000,000,000
Extending average productive life twenty years	10,000,000,000
Total	$105,628,000,000

Sidney A. Reeve puts our waste from competition at $25,000,000,000. These figures are founded upon census returns—production compared with advertisement, office upkeep, salaries of traveling salesmen, *et cetera,* in fact, all devices for securing a profit, not creating products.

There Are Many "Worst Forms of Waste"

Various "authorities" have their private "worst forms" of waste.

Mr. Hoover reckons the waste in every Ameri-

can family to amount to $50 a year. According to the census of 1910 there were in America 20,255,555 families; accordingly there is an annual family waste of $1,012,777,750.

Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, states that the prize waste of the champion wasters, the world's greatest single preventable economic leak, is barnyard fertilizer.

Professor Irving Fisher warns us of the economic waste of preventable disease; the money value of increased vitality. Estimating the number of the preventable deaths at 800,000, and each life as an industrial loss of $1,700, an annual preventable loss is shown of $1,360,000,000.*

"The average length of life at the close of the sixteenth century in Europe was only between 18 and 20 years; at the close of the eighteenth a little over 30; today it is between 38 and 40 years. At least fourteen years could be added to human life by the partial elimination of preventable diseases."

Daylight saving in the United States for the five summer months 1917 (in the lighting bill alone) would have yielded $140,000,000.† It would also have left unused one million tons of coal.

* Report on National Vitality, Irving Fisher, p. 119.

† Marcus M. Marks, *Municipal Review*, 1917, pp. 466-467.

Coal Waste $500,000,000 — Inefficient Power Plants Largely to Blame, Says Manning

"Washington, July 15.—According to Van H. Manning, Director of the United States Bureau of Mines, fully a half billion dollars was wasted last year in this country through the inefficient use of coal. Mr. Manning said this waste was continuing at an even greater rate and at a much larger penalty to the country, because of the increase in the price of coal.

" 'Last year the United States mined six hundred million tons of coal, the greatest production ever witnessed in the world, and of this amount we wasted one hundred fifty million tons, or twenty-five per cent., through inefficient use.

" 'As an example, in the modern, efficient power plants of the country 20 per cent. of the heat in the coal consumed is converted into power, whereas in the small power stations the efficiency frequently drops below 10 per cent. The average efficiency of all steam power plants in the United States is probably 5 or 6 per cent. of the energy of the coal. If it were possible to elevate the average efficiency to the maximum attainable, about three times as much energy would be available.' "

Waste in Time

The New York Telephone Company, July, 1917, printed an advertisement in the New York papers which stated that the Bell System handles thirty million telephone calls a day. "If on each of these calls an average of one minute could be

saved by more efficient use of the telephone, thirty million minutes more could be devoted to productive work. This would be a tremendous contribution to national efficiency. It would mean a saving of 20,833 days of twenty-four hours each—a saving of fifty-seven years every day!"

Waste of Hiring and Firing

One of the greatest sources of industrial waste in America is what is picturesquely termed "hiring and firing." America has to keep a surplus of labor idle to take places constantly being vacated on account of the maladjustment of the worker or the misunderstanding of the boss. This is largely due to a lack of early training which quickly adapts the worker to his job; in part it is due to the aims of women workers which to some extent are outside of success in their particular vocations and lead to endless change of position and calling.

Mr. Magnus W. Alexander, engineer of the General Electric Company, at the twentieth annual conference of the National Association of Manufacturers, said that in his opinion hiring and firing represents the greatest leakage in modern business. Twelve metal factories in six different States were carefully studied.

"The factories took on during the year 42,571 employees, or 22,031 persons more than were absolutely necessary. Each of those 22,031 persons

cost the factories from $50 to $200 each, for broken tools, spoiled work, the reduced rate of production, and the additional office expense incurred through the necessity for the maintenance of an extra clerical force to keep track of the temporary workers and the hiring of foremen and assistants to instruct them. Altogether, it was computed, the unnecessary engagement of 22,031 employees caused the factories in question an aggregate loss of $831,030." *

The Waste of Casual Labor

"Casual labor is the greatest of all maladjustments. A man who changes constantly from job to job, with periods of idleness between, comes to every job demoralized, unskilled, unsteady, and unfit; but casual labor, as the matter now stands, is still demanded in some industries. It is convenient for employers. It is the employer in the first instance who needs readjustment." †

But it is the casual laborer, being at the bottom of the industrial scale, who first enters the ranks of the unemployed in seasons of industrial depression. In the winter of 1913 and 1914 it was estimated that there were nine millions of people in the United States out of employment. This was a waste amounting to $13,500,000 a day for several months.

Perhaps the worst phase of the position of the

* *Industrial Conservator*, N. Y., April 25, 1917.

† Edward T. Devine, "Misery and Its Causes," p. 131.

casual laborer is that no one regards him as worth consideration except at harvest time or in seasons of prosperity. He easily gravitates, it is supposed, into the yeggman, semi-criminal, or criminal class. But out of his flesh and blood the country to a large extent recoups itself when in periods of economy it retrenches. A class which is absolutely essential to the salvation of crops and to the building of railroads, wharves, reservoirs, etc., has a moral claim upon the community to be given at least a livelihood between hurry call periods of national expansion.

The Army as an Absorber of Waste

Military organization while itself a form of waste in its killed and wounded—in its absorption of national wealth for its support, munitions, etc.,—on the other hand utilizes waste. The first volunteers are likely to be men of leisure, sportsmen, men out of work, individuals who are maladjusted to their surroundings; even the hooligans, apaches, and toughs; superfluous priests in countries overridden by the clergy—at last even small tradesmen as unnecessary distributors of produce. In fact, the army takes in, consciously or unconsciously, many classes of consumers who are disclosed in the glare of war as forming no indispensable part of the productive energies of the state.

Unless a man contributes needed power to one

of these departments of the state he is a man without a country. He is a waste product. He is unassimilated under a military or even a social organization of the state.

The Significance of Waste

Heard in war-time! "I can't imagine what a billion is."

A good way to grasp the significance of a billion is to picture all the people in the United States who travelled upon all the railroads east, west, north, south in a prosperous year, ending June, 1916, and all the rides of the commuters. The number was 1,005,683,174.

To understand our gigantic annual waste let us put the cost of waste against other figures:

Total amount waste in United States at least...	$21,000,000,000
Total capital of railroads in United States.....	20,000,000,000
Total bank deposits.....	20,000,000,000
Great Britain's war debt, estimated to Jan., 1918	19,466,000,000
Manufactures of United States.....	25,000,000,000
Savings	6,000,000,000
Agriculture	9,000,000,000
Known amount of incomes in United States, 1916, above $3,000 by 375,515 persons.....	1,999,788,864
Cost of educating 22,902,153 children year ending June, 1914.....	555,077,146

"The Committee on the Standard of Living thought it was a safe inference, from data in their possession, that an income under $800, however earned, is not enough to permit the maintenance of a normal standard for a family of five persons in the city of New York,

1910. Nearly one-third of all the families studied by the committee with incomes from $600 to $800 were underfed. The average expenditure for clothing was less than necessary. The furnishings of apartments were inadequate." *

Fancy the blessings for such a family if there were an addition to its income of $1,000 a year, its pro rata share of the national annual saving of waste from carelessness and ignorance: it would be lifted into the class of economic independence with all the blessings of additional education, nourishment, leisure, and recreation.

The question of waste ranges in immediate practical importance from the saving of military energy and mental penetration, by regulating camp alcohol and prostitution, through the saving of coal, food, etc., to the levying of super-tax upon great incomes. Advocates for the rich claim that they consume little more than do the poor,—meaning that three meals a day and clothing are the limit of consumption and, after all, the difference between "eat and grow thin" and "eat and grow fat" ought not be 80 per cent. super-tax.

These apologists for the consuming power of the rich, who would reduce it to breakfast foods, forget the cost of what is vulgarly called "style," or fashion. Ostentation and extravagance enslave and waste the labor of thousands of personal attendants who set the stage upon which wealth plays its part. The imprisonment of the Czar,

* "Misery and Its Causes," Edward T. Devine, pp. 107-108.

we are told, left thousands of servants without a situation. Then, too, there is "the vicarious expenditure" of those connected with wealth—the women and children.

Let us end with Veblen's trenchant analysis of wealth and waste. "In an industrial community this propensity for emulation expresses itself in pecuniary emulation, and this, so far as regards the western communities of the present, is virtually equivalent to saying that it expresses itself in some form of conspicuous waste. The need of conspicuous waste, therefore, stands ready to absorb any increase in the communities' industrial efficiency or output of goods, after the most elementary physical wants have been provided.

"The popular reprobation of waste goes to say that in order to be at peace with himself the common man must be able to see in any and all human effort and human enjoyment an enhancement of life and well-being in the whole." *

* T. Veblen, "The Theory of a Leisure Class," pp. 98, 110.

X

MENTAL ADJUSTMENT THROUGH ORGANIZED EFFORTS FOR FREE SPEECH

"An undesirable society . . . is one which internally and externally sets up barriers to free intercourse and communication of experiences. A society which makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic."

JOHN DEWEY,
Democracy and Education, Chap. VII.

"We must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them, and not separately in places which have no communication with each other."

From President Wilson's Address to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, November 12, 1917.

"Let us speak thereof, ye wisest ones, even though it be bad. To be silent is worse; all suppressed truths become poisonous. And let everything break up which—can break up by our truths! Many a house is still to be built!—

Nietzsche, Thus Spake Zarathustra.

CHAPTER X

MENTAL ADJUSTMENT THROUGH ORGANIZED EFFORTS FOR FREE SPEECH

THE hardest time to keep liberty alive is during a war for freedom. When a column of fire is guiding the victorious armies of truth and justice, a pillar of cloud seems to be obscuring truth and justice from those left at home.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are the two antennæ of democracy, but they are hard to protect even in a democracy. The Constitution of the United States grants freedom of speech:

> "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." *

Police regulation with its power to prevent disturbances of the peace and disorderly conduct easily negatives freedom of speech; and in wartime not only does government censorship largely suppress it but militaristic control and influence give it no quarter.

* Constitution of the United States, Amendments, Article 1.

Suppression obeys a psychological law, and is followed by the emergence of the suppressed instinct or energy in another form. Free speech, if denied street corners and open places, flees to halls; refused the use of halls, it seeks the back rooms of clubs; prohibited all expression, violence becomes the only outlet of these pent-up moral forces.

The Forum Hears the Cry of the Expropriated

The purpose of the Open Forum movement is to afford the freest opportunity for the business man and the laboring man to arrive, by open discussion, at a better understanding of the vital questions affecting their relationship; to discover the drift of industrial progress; to guard against the menace of unjust industrial development; to forestall, by reasonable and humane ways, the settlement by sterner methods; to do its part toward the essential end that "the arrogance and whip of Capital and the distrust and evil weapons of Labor be laid aside, so that their hands may be free to join in the grip of a common interest." *

A brilliant critic of American life, H. G. Wells, with a clairvoyant perception of conditions in this country, has declared:

"The American community is discovering a secular extinction of opportunity and the appearance of pow-

* Joseph S. Auerbach, *North American Review*, December, 1905.

ers against which individual enterprise and competition are hopeless. Enormous sections of the American public are losing their faith in any personal chance of growing rich and truly free, and are developing the consciousness of an expropriated class.'' *

But Mr. Wells makes no discovery. He is merely an observer like others before him.

''What wrong road have we taken,'' asked Emerson in 1848, ''that all the improvements in machinery have helped everybody but the operatives? Here they have incurably hurt.'' Thirty years later Henry George startled complacent America by asking why poverty persisted while wealth increased. His unpalatable formula, ''the poor are growing poorer and the rich are growing richer,'' was made more agreeable by Carroll D. Wright, who explained that as the poor were not improving their condition at the rate the rich were advancing, the distance between them was increasing. Without doubt it is becoming vastly harder, as John Mitchell points out, for a working-man to advance beyond his sort of job or out of his class.

''The fact which is most full of meaning at the end of the nineteenth century,'' wrote Professor Macgregor in his ''Evolution of Industry,'' ''is the existence of an absolute surplus or human residue which is pauper in fact though not in name'' (page 106).

Individuals are not wholly to blame for this con-

* H. G. Wells, "The Future in America," p. 81.

dition of things; industrial evolutionary forces, not understood until the mischief was done, are also responsible. We can see now that the working-man under the financial handling of the modern factory system lost his status; that his wages practically buy off his interest in the firm; that machinery and joint stock companies contributed to push apart employers and employees, and that "the nineteenth century in working out of the idea of power by means of combination has stratified and classified the people to an enormous extent." * So economic analysis confirms and explains the separation of classes that conditions indicated and that statistics proved.

Evidently these processes of class separation, as inhuman in their effects as war itself, cannot go on indefinitely without a catastrophe. In America they have already led to bloodshed. We are constantly presented, here in America, with working models of civil war. "Habit alone," says William James, "is what keeps us all within the bounds of ordinance and saves the children of fortune from the envious uprisings of the poor." But habits can be changed, especially under the incentive of starvation or injustice.

These deadly clashes, which breed a worse hatred than that which gives rise to them, cannot be banished from our attention by calling them mere exhibitions of an industrial unrest as old as the Pyramids. The exodus of the Hebrews from

* Macgregor's "Evolution of Industry," p. 56.

Egypt was a strike in which the workers did not return to their work, but migrated. The French Revolution was a strike which cost the employers their heads and their status. Nor can we forever "jolly" the laborer by telling him that he possesses luxuries that kings of old did not dream of. Jauntily to talk about the inevitableness of industrial unrest does not harmonize class differences. The question is, What is going to stop this pulling asunder before it is too late? What is going to bring the hostile industrial forces of our national life together? What is going to make us really one people—in sympathies, ideals, and institutions? The labor question, of course, is a nuisance; but we can say of it what Emerson said of the question of slavery: "It has a right to be heard and the people plagued with it until something is done."

We are safe in saying that the desired results of industrial peace and of national unity are not to be secured by improving coercive machinery. To destroy trade-unions; to organize State constabularies; to deny free speech or give it impossible definition; to increase the list of offenses for which arrest is equivalent to conviction; to rob working-men of adequate political representation, is not a solution of our problems of class estrangement.

Capital, Politics, Church, and Education Shun Labor

Nor are we encouraged to look for intellectual and sympathetic leadership where ordinarily some leadership is expected. Our most powerful financiers and captains of industry are not ashamed to testify on the witness stand that they have not studied the problems involved in the present issues—that they do not understand the labor question. Naturally, therefore, they cannot offer any help.

Our political parties represent in their primary differences not economic, but constitutional positions. They are essentially conservative; even their liberalism is considerate of the small capitalist rather than of the proletariat. The New York Constitutional Convention gave no heed to the memorial and recommendations of the labor organizations. A great newspaper even taunted the labor men with their inability to retaliate. I discover no friendliness in ordinary American politics toward the problems of the working-classes. This is Mr. Wilson's strength.

The clergy notably display a more human sympathy with the working-man's economic problems, but officially the churches are timid, and their laymen are too often reactionary. In the churches there is being developed a new economic orthodoxy which enfeebles their contribution to the labor problem. Some high ecclesiastics go so

far as to declare that the procession of life with its most exalted spiritual vision is passing along outside the Church. On the other hand, there are some who quote Jesus to the effect that the division of wealth is not a religious problem.

Colleges do not teach economics and sociology in a fashion to meet the situation. There are a few professors to whom many people are indebted. But our colleges have neither led public opinion on the labor problem nor qualified their graduates to deal with it. The trustees of one of our leading universities have declared publicly that economics should teach only what is agreeable to capitalists.

The working-people are well aware of the hostility of the capitalistic classes and institutions. They look for no help outside themselves. They have been deceived and disappointed so often by pretended friends that they resent help from outside their own class; to accept it has become a mark of class disloyalty.

Some Volunteer Agencies

In default of constructive help from accredited leaders in business, politics, religion, and education, volunteers have come forward with new agencies which attempt to correct destructive industrial tendencies; to bring together the extremes of democracy; to spread a more hopeful theory of human nature than that upon which

conservative fears are reared, and to broaden the reach of economic education.

University settlements, founded about thirty years ago, set out to bring the culture of English college cloisters to London slums. "They are homes in the poorer quarters of a city where educated men and women may come in daily personal contact with people." Frederic Denison Maurice's Working-men's College, founded in 1860; Edward Denison's attempt to make his home in the East End of London in 1867; Arnold Toynbee's residence in Whitechapel with the Rev. S. A. Barnett of St. Jude's in 1875, and the building of Toynbee Hall in 1885, mark the steps, and at the same time disclose the college and church impulse, that led to the rise of university settlements.

In 1883 the Rev. Dr. William S. Rainsford became Rector of St. George's Church, New York. Before taking charge of the parish or forming especial plans for carrying it on, he had a survey made of the neighborhood. He then founded such organizations as seemed to him suitable for meeting the racial, local, or class needs of his parish. This was the first scientific diagnosis of parochial work that I am aware of, and it developed a group of social institutions around it that gave the name "institutional church" to St. George's, and to the large number of parishes since then more or less modeled upon it.

The essence of institutional church work is

home extension. It undertakes to make up for the poverty-stricken, limited, and often vicious surroundings of the tenement-house by supervising entertainment, encouraging education and physical culture,—in fact, by doing for the children and youth of the poor what a well-to-do family would like to do for its own.

Afterward came the social settlements which attempted more complete co-operation with whatever initiative the slums themselves disclosed. They recognized how much the working-man is trying to do for himself, and proffered their assistance. They put educated and friendly energy into existing popular institutions. They aided neighborhood agencies, school boards, health boards, libraries, the use of parks, labor unions, advantageous racial customs, etc.

More recently, community centers have organized a neighborhood club in the schoolhouse. Freed from racial, religious, and political antagonism, the schoolhouse, because a patriotic and neutral institution, is their rallying place.

They have created a self-governing citizens' movement, taking in not only grown-ups, but young people of both sexes. Games, dancing, athletics, evening classes, lectures, political addresses, "movies," etc., are provided. Started in Rochester, New York, there are now scores of these community centers in the United States, especially in the West. The importance of the community center has become so widely under-

stood that a training school for leaders has been established in New York; national conferences have been held, and in the spring of 1917 the State of New York ordered school boards to place schoolhouses at the disposal of community center groups in the interests of Americanization.

The Open Forum as Common Ground

The Open Forum is another undertaking to provide a common meeting-place for the rich and the poor, free from traditional impediments; to bring together in a humane atmosphere the extremes of society. Like the agencies we have been considering, the Open Forum bases its action not upon dogmas, traditions, or precedents, but upon the urgent needs of the present and an intelligent view of the future.

Nietzsche says: "The important question for you is not where did you come from, but where are you going?" Walter Lippmann condenses this into his maxim: "Substitute purpose for tradition." The new psychology tells us that "a philosophical study of living beings shows that they may be graded according to the amount of purpose they manifest." * But where are we going? What should be our purpose? Is it not safe to say (if we pay attention to the lessons of industrial evolution) that the world is moving toward a greater democracy, toward the spread

* L. E. Emerson, *Psychoanalytic Review*, October, 1915, p. 425.

of freedom, opportunity, and wealth—in fact, toward the highest development for the largest number of human beings by means of the material and spiritual advantages of self-government?

Cooper Union

The Open Forum, although a new device for amplifying social and industrial conditions, has had an interesting history: The People's Institute was established in 1897 and offered in Cooper Union, at the head of the Bowery, New York, a strategic meeting-place for ideas and men. Charles Sprague-Smith, the founder, conceived the plan while a professor of comparative literature in Columbia. He discovered in literature the story of the common laws of social progress, and he longed, as he told me, to get his hands directly into the material of human life. So he gave up comparative literature and set about arousing enthusiasm among the people for a freer, fuller existence.

At the People's Institute, lecturers of wide reputation addressed East Side audiences of thirty nationalities. The audience could ask questions, but could not make speeches. The lecture was often preceded by music and recitations, but not by recognized religious exercises. Later a clubhouse was founded and many valuable forms of social service undertaken.

The invited speakers, under the grilling of an

astute and well-read democracy, were taught never to make a statement which they could not back up; they also learned the protective value of a good chairman (Mr. Sprague-Smith) who would not permit them to be put into too deep holes by the audience, although he could not prevent them sometimes from jumping in themselves to their own chagrin, and to the amusement of their tormentors. Professor Charles Sprague-Smith, philologist, poet, educator in good will, champion of the people, died in middle life as the result of overwork in behalf of this great undertaking. The Cooper Union meetings maintain the high standards set by him.

The Public Forum

The "Public Forum (Inc.) of the Church of the Ascension" was founded in 1907 by the Rector of the parish and the Rev. Alexander Irvine. If crowds will listen to soap-box orators on street corners; if workmen in factories will give part of their precious noon recess to listen to Y. M. C. A. speakers, should not religious bodies, which control more good auditoriums than anybody else, and have less use for them, offer hospitality in their churches to such groups, and if necessary organize these opportunities under favorable conditions? The Public Forum undertook to make a church a shelter for what might otherwise have been open-air meetings of all

sorts and conditions of men, interested in discussing modern social and industrial ideas. It was a frank attempt by a church to find out what working-men, according to their own showing, wanted, and what they considered to be the duty of the church. The Public Forum audience may debate the subject as well as ask questions.

Since the founding of this Forum, numerous churches in New York and the neighborhood have opened similar Forums—notably the Church of the Holy Trinity, in Brooklyn, of which the Rev. J. Howard Melish is Rector; the Church of the Messiah, where the Rev. John Haynes Holmes is Pastor, and the Free Synagogue, under Dr. Stephen S. Wise. Even as far away as Houma, Louisiana, St. Matthews (Episcopal) Church has established a Forum. There is also a Forum in Starr King's old parish (Unitarian) in San Francisco. Church Forums received the endorsement of the Universalists at their Chicago Convention of 1914.

Ford Hall

Ford Hall, on Beacon Hill, Boston, was founded by the Baptist Union in 1908. It offers a platform of a broad and sympathetic type, it publishes a paper of its proceedings, and carries on social work. It permits the audience to question the speaker, but it does not invite speaking from the audience. The Ford Hall meetings, through

their extension committees, have been instrumental in establishing in New England municipalities, towns, and schools more than thirty Forums, modeled more or less closely upon Ford Hall, but with distinctive undertakings described by the specific conditions of their position. Mr. George Coleman, who is responsible for Ford Hall, has exceptional clearness of vision and breadth of sympathy.

Other Forums

The Labor Temple was opened by the Presbyterian Board of Missions, at Second Avenue and Fourteenth Street, New York, in an old building that was formerly a parish church. Owing to its situation on the East Side, and the close connection between its founder, the Rev. Charles Stelzle and the trade-union movement, in which he thoroughly believes, and also because it specializes in labor matters, the Labor Temple has developed a highly unified work, now in charge of Rev. Jonathan C. Day, and keeps very closely in touch with a large number of working-people.

The Labor Forum is a still later and different type of Forum. It meets in a public schoolhouse. It has no religious exercises or motives, nor is it neutral (as radicals regard the Church Forums). The Labor Forum is the announced advocate of the working-classes. An enthusiastic,

devoted, and self-sacrificing leader, Mr. Carl Beck, is responsible for its origin and excellence.

Schoolhouses are used by many other Forums, notably by the Bronx Open Forum under the leadership of the Honorable Edward Polak, the Civic Forum of Brooklyn, and the vigorous Forums of the Brooklyn People's Institute.

In addition to Forums which use the English language, there are Forums that use Italian and Russian—as the "*Foro Italiano, a* Ford Hall *dirimpetto la* State House" in Boston, and a Russian Forum in New York.

Another type of Forum is "The Hungry Club" of Pittsburgh. According to its able and enthusiastic Secretary, Charles C. Cooper, "The Hungry Club" is the only organization of its kind in the world. "Its membership consists of several hundred business and professional men who 'want to know.' It has no constitution nor by-laws. It has no formal organization. It has no business sessions and no regular officials. It never takes a vote. It never endorses anything. It is Pittsburgh's Open Forum for the presentation of both sides of public questions."

The Forum has proved particularly attractive to recent immigrants. Its democracy corresponds to their native ideal—an ideal too often destroyed by their early experiences in their adopted country. The Forum helps them to some discrimination in fixing blame for their ill-treatment; it offers them a mouthpiece for the woes they ran

away from on the other side of the water and for those they have run into in America.

There are some three hundred Open Forums actually in operation; as many more groups are seeking organization. Forums have been considered such admirable agencies for popular education in current public problems, that in some States where constitutional conventions are to be held, Forums have been founded as preparatory schools for discussion and study of constitutional questions. Indiana has more than a hundred such Forums. Arkansas is likely to follow this lead.

The Open Forum National Council has offices in Boston; it maintains a speakers' bureau and publishes a monthly magazine—*The Community Forum.*

Some fifty of the Forums in and around New York are incorporated as The Congress of Forums, which forms a part of the national organization.

Breaking the Shackles of Silence

In spite of the diverse elements which make up the membership of an Open Forum, it would be a mistake to suppose that it is a Cave of Adullam, made up of malcontents, "down-and-outers," and blatherskites. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth.

The questions asked and the speeches made

from the audience of the Public Forum give surprising evidences of knowledge, seriousness, and ability.

The Forum is a device by which the people become articulate. "Silence is for the poor," declared Lamennais, the French priest, who labored for the freedom of the working-classes within the Roman Church, and was driven out of it. Any institution that gives voice to the poor is an emancipator, for it breaks their worst shackle—silence. The cause that can be heard is in a way to secure its ends. A people that is articulate is on its way to victory. Open Forums offer, as does nothing else today, an opportunity for the poor to be heard—a timely instrument just now when free speech has been so much abridged in public places. Dread of free speech has come to such a pass that the hall in Paterson which burned down after Emma Goldman spoke in it was considered by many religious people to have been directly destroyed by divine wrath. Our national optimism inclines us to avoid serious problems; our easy material progress renders us forgetful of underlying difficulties. We are irritated at criticism of our institutions. We club and jail unpleasant prophets. The May Day Labor Parade in 1914 had this banner: "You may jail our leaders, but you cannot jail our ideas." America must offer more safety valves to such explosive truths, to such suppression and injustice, especially when assailed by the new slogan of Privi-

lege: "You may have the right, but we have the power."

Much of the present-day labor trouble is caused by the disappearance of the old-fashioned employer of labor who was successful in building up a business because he knew his men and how to treat them. The absentee employer is an economic danger. The striker is in revolt against hidden forces, not against persons, for he does not know them. The Open Forum, by contriving a better acquaintance between classes, helps this situation. One violent radical told me that he learned in the Public Forum that capitalists were human.

The Open Forum Combines the University and the Town Meeting

A Public Forum unites the university with the town meeting. An expert is called in to lead the conferences; then the people thrash out the subject in open debate. The Forum is giving back to America the town meeting which the growth of cities has robbed it of.

A defect of democracy is its distrust and neglect of the expert, and its substitution of the grandiose notion that one man is as good as another, for all the purposes of the state. In America this disposition, at once ignorant and injurious to democratic institutions, was fostered by the pioneer life in colonial America, which was

so simple in its requirements as to be satisfied by the rough-hewn ability and independence of individuals; and later, by its agricultural pursuits which did not permit the holder of the plow to leave his fields indefinitely for legislative and political service. Today, with quite a different order of society, the traditions of these earlier periods have persisted, especially among politicians, in the face of the growing need of experts and in the face of the great scientific and mechanical developments of our time.

Democracy must become used to experts, must desire them, and enthusiastically place them in commanding positions. I know of no better place to cure this shyness of the people toward specially trained ability than the Forum platform, where the expert can not only instruct his audience on a specially selected subject of current importance, but will patiently and good-naturedly answer scores of questions, will listen to a public discussion by the audience, and in a friendly and wise way sum up what has been said.

Perhaps the Forum is a better fashion of presenting the university to the people than is the so-called university extension movement, which too largely deals with purely cultural subjects and depends for its speakers upon professional teachers and lecturers. The Forum chooses current subjects of importance, and gravitates to "burning questions"; it then selects the most distinguished expert upon the topic whose serv-

ices (generally gratuitous) it can command, and this often involves going far afield from academic reputations, who is then brought to an eager audience already schooled in the technique of social and economic literature.

At a time when the town meeting, which according to Ralph Waldo Emerson was the school of our early democracy, has fallen into disuse owing to the greatly increased number of our population living under city charters, the creation of a body of persons, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, holding all manner of political views—brought together for the discussion of important problems, is returning one of the best elements of democracy to wide and frequent use.

Open Forums are not only harmonizers and educators of classes into a truer social unity. Their practical accomplishment also may be valuable. This is important to observe, because critics of Open Forums rarely notice the inevitable demand of Forum audiences for emotional relief, not in talk alone, but in beneficent social activity. They pass resolutions, send memorials, appoint committees, and carry on humane works.

An officer of the Public Forum (Inc.) led to Albany the committee whose labors resulted in the appointment of the New York Factory Commission and consequent legislation. The Public Forum organized the first democratically run community center in New York.

The Prison Committee of the Public Forum brought to the attention of officials abuses in the Penitentiary and Workhouse, which are in process of being remedied.

The Legal Committee provided volunteer counsel in the Woman's Night Court for defendants too poor or too ignorant to secure it for themselves.

The Relief Bureau offered a daily ministry to prisoners—especially women—discharged from Blackwell's Island.

The Employment Bureau for nearly two years was a valuable neighborhood contribution. For the year ending June 30, 1917, it secured for its applicants 1,900 situations.

Why Tie up a Forum with Religion?

A question I frequently hear is: Why have the Open Forums (good enough things in themselves, no doubt) been conducted in consecrated churches and church buildings? What has religion to do with economics? In spite of an imposing list of advantages, why tie up this new undertaking to religion; why call meetings at which economics are talked in churches; why hold these on Sundays?

Economics are teaching the Church of today so much that the Church may well show some appreciation. In fact, if economics can inspire religion, then there is a natural relationship between

them. The present humanizing of the dismal science is giving new faith to the Church. The brotherliness of international labor unions and of Socialism is helping the Church to recover the vision of a world of peace and good will. The multiplication of food and clothing—their easy preservation and transportation—are leading the Church to believe that poverty can be abolished. The organization of vast numbers in effective labor point to new unity and effectiveness among the devout. The loyalty and self-sacrifice of the working-people for each other is a new Pentecost —a new outpouring of spiritual energy which speaks in strange tongues, but tells of holy things. In spite of the temporary recessions of the war, these movements are today the brightest encouragements to humanity.

A better understanding between the rich and poor is a moral as well as an economic question.

The rich must perceive how unfair it is for them to waste human labor in frivolous amusement, unnecessary possessions, and injurious consumption. Short of the winnings of roulette, some American business men seem to think one dollar is as good-looking and respectable as another. Why should workmen worry then because they expect pay without giving good work or full time? If they could get the dollar for absolute incompetence and for no work at all, they would only be securing what political jobs, corpo-

ration salaries, speculative pools, very often provide for their favorites—pay for no equivalent. There is no more profoundly *moral* question than what a man does for his income and with his income. The relation between income and service must become one of the great themes of religion.

XI

THE ECONOMIC INFLUENCE OF RELIGION

"The sooner we think straight we shall will straight."

HENRY H. GODDARD,
Feeble-Mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences, p. 407.

"The ultimate value of every institution is the distinctively human effect—its effect upon conscious expression."

JOHN DEWEY,
Education and Democracy, p. 8.

"With science, the old theology of the East, long in its dotage, begins evidently to die and disappear. But (to my mind) science—and maybe such will prove its principal service—as evidently prepares the way for One indescribably grander—Time's young but perfect offspring—the new theology—heir of the West—lusty and loving, and wondrous beautiful."

WALT WHITMAN,
quoted by JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS in
Walt Whitman: A Study, p. 142.

"Where wants and needs coincide economic and moral values are identical."

PROF. T. D. CARVER,
Religion and Social Justice, p. 36.

"Character is the result of longevity, health, income, and knowledge, not of particular biologic traits."

"Service, conformity to natural law, and growth are the basic ideas of true civilization."

PROF. SIMON N. PATTEN,
Culture and War.

CHAPTER XI

THE ECONOMIC INFLUENCE OF RELIGION

CAN religion help the working-classes? The radical unhesitatingly replies: "No!" In the socialist movement the workers derive from its founders a tradition of atheism. Besides this tradition, still influential, socialism preaches the materialistic interpretation of history.

Beyond these two arguments for the unpopularity of religion among working-people there are others less theoretical. The priesthood in social evolution has been associated with the military and governmental class as its supporter and dependent. Today it is believed to stand in the same relation of support and dependence to the capitalistic class. For example, working-people complain that the pulpit preaches only what capitalism approves. Further than this, working-people see plainly enough that the conspicuous tenets of the prevailing religions—as, for instance, the Golden Rule: "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you"—are flatly contradicted by the business maxims of those who profess great respect for religion; for example, *Caveat emptor,* Let the buyer look out for himself. In brief,

working-class radicalism defines religion as belief in the supernatural and regards churches as partners of capitalists; so radicalism is confident of religion's doom.

"Devout observances are of economic importance," Veblen rather heavily puts it, "as an index of a concomitant variation of temperament, accompanying the predatory habit of mind and so indicating the presence of industrially disserviceable traits." He illustrates this disservice by the waste of priestly service, education, pilgrimages, fasts, holidays, etc. He confirms it by a theory that the attitude of attention to preternatural allies is treason to the relation of cause and effect; or as our psychological friends would say, the clergy live in fantasy, not in reality, and so are an economic dead weight.

The points that labor makes against religion are well founded; but they are indictments of religion in its most institutionalized form; they are criticisms of organized religion at its worst. That is to say, radicalism confuses religion with the Church, and considers the religion of all time the same.

The modern working-man in his exasperation at exclusion from social and industrial influence, has seen in the religion of the conservative classes not only a foe but a lie, deliberately fabricated for his enslavement. Although Plato did suggest that rulers might govern by appeal to "the magnificent lie" of an authorized religion; yet modern

science and modern economics assign religion its true place—something produced by man for himself,—for his help and betterment.

Dr. W. A. White, of Washington, a leading authority on psychoanalysis, assigns high value even to early religions.

"He (the primitive man) used the methods of magic. No matter how ineffectual they were, however, no matter how simple and childlike, nevertheless we see in these methods the germs of our present-day science. Primitive man did the best he could, his means were crude, but he kept on trying—he was on the right path." *

Professor Simon N. Patten points out the imperative social value of religion:

"Degeneration, regeneration, and the will are thus religion's first problems, from which all others are derived. When religion emphasizes degeneration as a starting-point, its position assumes both a scientific and a pragmatic quality. The subnormal—below us—is to be avoided; the supernormal—above us—is to be striven for. Religion voices our opposition to the one and our aspiration for the other. So long as men hope to be better and fear to become worse, religion cannot die out. It cures degeneration through the development of character." †

Religion has enormously helped the productive powers of labor. In some of the early stages of

* "Mechanisms of Character Formation," p. 45.

† "The New Basis of Civilization," p. 43.

religion its use was so largely to protect mankind from all sorts of fears that it could be called a method of posting sentinels, to guard man from the injury and unabated terrors of the unknown. Primitive man's ignorance of the powers of nature and his ascription of evil influences to the spiritual beings he fancied behind nature, would have overwhelmed him, had his religion not offered means by which he could feel that he was in the good grace of the injurious spiritual powers, and so go about his business with some peace of mind. Religion built a crude stockade around primitive man to protect him from fear of the universe. In a very real and concrete fashion religion was the salvation of the worker and his work, whether his labor was in war, or in hunting, or in making weapons, or in the delegated drudgeries performed by the women of the tribe. Let us at any rate be pragmatists, willing to say a good word for what has helped us, even if we are not clear about its rational foundation.

Specifically, it must be replied to labor's materialistic interpretation of history, that moral idealism is constantly modifying social conditions even if underlying all social movement the fundamental motives are economic. In the present war, for example, the fundamental motives are economic, but thousands of men and women are volunteering their services in the army, on ambulances, in hospitals, and relief work, the sum and quality of whose labors, born of their fine enthusi-

asm, may win the day and be the moral agents of new economic ideas and conditions.

Does the Church affect economics at all? On the contrary, isn't it economics that affect the Church? Back of this question is the theory of the economic interpretation of history, which claims that the struggle for food underlies everything else, and that any higher cultural or spiritual force in the world can be analyzed back to some economic need and effort. There are economists today who claim that the present war is due to the geography of the land lying between the Rhine and the Baltic. These are extremists. Both forces, economic forces and so-called moral forces, are influential.

Religion affects economics and economics affect religion. No one can deny that the struggle for existence is the primal instinct. There is no question but that the first activities of mankind are for food. Religion is not a primary impulse; it is a secondary and contributory impulse. That does not mean that religion has not a direct influence upon economic affairs.

"Human life (says Professor Seligman) has thus far not been exempt from the inexorable law of nature, with its struggle for existence through natural selection. This struggle has assumed three forms. We find first the original struggle of group with group, which in modern times has become the contest of people with people, of nation with nation. Secondly, with the differen-

tiation of population there came the rivalry of class with class; first, of the sacerdotal with the military and the industrial class; later, of the moneyed interest with the landed interest; still later, of the labor class with one or all of the capitalist classes. Thirdly, we find within each class the competition of the individuals to gain the mastery in the class. These three forms of conflict are in the last resort all due to the pressure of life upon the means of subsistence; individual competition, class competition, and race competition are all referable to the niggardliness of nature, to the inequality of human gifts, to the indifference of social opportunity. Civilization, indeed, consists in the attempt to minimize the evils while conserving the benefits of this hitherto inevitable conflict between material resources and human desires. As long, however, as this conflict endures, the primary explanation of human life must continue to be the economic explanation—the explanation of the adjustment of material resources to human desires. This adjustment may be modified by esthetic, religious, and moral, in short, by intellectual and spiritual forces; but in the last resort it still remains an adjustment of life to the wherewithal of life." *

"The most material elements," says Professor Harnack, "acting upon man always produce feelings and ideas which themselves act as forces in their turn, and stand in no simple proportionate relation to those material causes. Moreover, as long as men continue to sacrifice their possessions, their blood, and their life for ideal aims, it will

* "The Economic Interpretation of History," E. R. A. Seligman, p. 154.

be impossible for any one to maintain the materialistic view of history except with the help of sophisms."

In Roman Law *jus naturale,* which modified many conditions of humanity, was directly traceable to Seneca and Stoic philosophy. I believe it will be found that the new "common sense" economics of today owe much of their origin to the insistent representations of religion in behalf of the working-classes.

Thorold Rogers holds that religious movements have had social effects under two heads. In the first place the efforts of the missionary must needs be directed to the material as well as the moral amelioration of the persons or subjects which are to be the subject of the mission. This is the secret of the success which attended the teachings of Zoroaster and Buddha, of early Christianity and early Islam. They take advantage of existing discontent and preach freedom, the loosening of chains, the opening of prisons, and the natural equality of man, the manifest duty of the secular ruler.

The next fact is, that it is vain to attempt in social revolution a material improvement in the condition of those whom the teacher approaches except in times when prosperity or at least some degree of comfort is general. The forces of society make short and easy work of the outbreaks which despair occasionally instigates. The insurrection of the *Jacquerie* in France in the four-

teenth century, of the peasants in Germany in the sixteenth, were futile struggles, full of ferocity and reprisals, but were completely repressed, the peasants sinking back into greater misery than that which they strove to shake off.*

All these authorities attach importance to the economic interpretation of history, but they see that the spiritual and intellectual, in their turn, affect the conditions of life.

Religion and Economics in the Old Testament

The relation of religion to economics was natural among the old races and nations. Among the Jews religion and politics were identical and formed the theocratic government. The original idea of justice among the Hebrews came from their desert life and their nomadic organizations. This was an idea of brotherhood natural and easy in the patriarchal unit of a pastoral group. The social struggle that goes on through the Old Testament is the inevitable conflict of nomads with the people in the cities. The conflict of Jehovah and Baal was a conflict between the freeman and the slave. That is to say, it was an economical conflict.

Old Testament "righteousness" was largely what we call "social justice." Land monopoly, usury, low wages, cheating of widows—these were

* Compare Thorold Rogers, "Economic Interpretation of History," Chapter IV.

branded by the prophets. This Old Testament righteousness was the law Jesus said must be fulfilled—every jot and tittle of it. The return of land, the cancellation of debt, and freeing captives in the jubilee year, was a piece of oriental communism; it found no sympathy in the Roman law of ownership, although it constantly asserted itself inside the Romanized Christian Church.

Early Christian Influence

Among Christians there should be no question about the economic influence of the Church. The Church was meant to be an economic establishment and if it has not fulfilled that idea it has never been without living testimony to it. Not only was the first Church communistic—the sharing of worldly possessions—but the Jewish picture of a righteous community which exhibited economic justice went over into Christianity with a profounder personal pity and sympathy for misery and with the Cross as a symbol.

"The communism attempted in the apostolic Church was continued in the traditions of the early and medieval Church, as the ideal form of Christian society. The Christian fathers of the first three or four centuries were full of the new social ideals." *

Until the eleventh century the early communistic conception of the Church was regarded

* Sidgwick's "History of Ethics," quoted by Conrad Noel, in "Socialism and Church History," p. 103.

as its social ideal. The catalogue of the fathers who supported such a conception is long. Basil, Clement, Ambrose, Isidore, Zeno, Chrysostom, Tertullian. Nor did it fade away under the better industrial circumstances of the Renaissance. There was a strong socializing tendency in the Church, even just before the Reformation.

Modern political economy found, perhaps, its earliest exponents in medieval canonists,—ecclesiastics who had given themselves to the study of law. The economic doctrines which they put out and which were accepted by the times were "Christian" in the sense that they were especially considerate of the weak.

Profits and wages, for instance, were not to be higher than permitted the recipient to live according to the requirements of his position—his status. Although there were class differences, which would seem to give permanence to inequalities, yet, on the whole, this adjudication of the canonists made for *temporary* standards of acquisition.

Economic Value of Monasticism

The early monastic systems were largely instrumental in the spread of economic efficiency. They not only were communistic groups which had the advantage of organization in production, but they became the centers for the teaching of agriculture and simpler industries to the population around them. Economic values so surely attended

monastic organization, where properly managed, that the monks as a society were unable to fulfill their vows of poverty; their co-operation, thrift, and knowledge made them rich. Here was a direct economic power exerted by the Church.

This power was again shown when the monastic orders became missionary forces. They became the agricultural colleges and trade schools of northern Europe. Our own modern missionary program has done the same thing; our missionaries have taught innumerable economic methods to the peoples to whom they were sent. In the history of Christian missions, it is easy to note how the conception of the gospel as a plan of soul salvation, depending upon belief, creed, and baptism, gave place to a conception of missionary activity which was educational not only in agriculture and craftsmanship, but in literature and social institutions.

When I was in the East there was a good deal being said about trade following the flag. I found, as a matter of fact, that trade did not follow the flag, but trade followed the missionary. The missionaries went into Burma and found that the Burmese people had rheumatism from sleeping on the ground, or that they were troubled by the bite of insects. The missionaries sent for Perry Davis's Pain Killer; from the State of Rhode Island there were great shipments of this liniment. The missionaries found the Indian women painfully at their hand looms making the cloth

out of which their garments were fashioned, and they immediately imported calico and Singer sewing machines, which freed their labor for other perhaps higher things. Article after article, economic method after economic method, can be directly traced to missionaries who went to less civilized people and who wished to give them the economic fruits of civilization.

In the middle ages the Franciscan order was born out of economic conditions. St. Francis of Assisi, horrified by the disparity between the rich and the poor, organized a brotherhood whose primal vow was poverty, in order to make his great personal protest against the economic conditions of the time. In fact, it was the antagonism of this order to the wealthy classes that made it difficult for the papal authorities for a long time to give countenance to the Franciscans.

What Is the Church Doing Today?

The Church is the modern institution that has tried to correct the largest number of social maladjustments. It has supplemented our elementary public school education, which is all that nine-tenths of our people receive, by mercantile, technical, and industrial education in Y. M. C. A. and parish trade schools. It has tried to make up for the poverty of tenement house life by building parish houses in which social and recreational opportunities on a large scale have been offered

the children of the slums. It has organized the Y. M. C. A.—a great fraternity of young men, with social advantages. It has supplied gymnasiums and athletic clubs to mitigate destructive physical environment of the poor. It has brought the tenement child and its poor mother to the country and to the seashore, placing them in ample houses. It has supplied, in day-nurseries, medical attendance and nursing for the care of babies and small children, whose mothers are forced to work. It has supplied sewing and other means of income for old women who are past the ages of successful business competition and yet love their "own home." It has provided schemes of co-operative buying—a large saving to wage-earners. It is now supplying in its forums a platform for studying the labor question—a meeting-place for ideas and classes. It has built the best hospitals, the best homes for orphans and for the aged. In short, the Church has tried—unfortunately, in a broken and unco-ordinated fashion, because it is not itself a unity—to supply the social deficiencies of our modern state. It has had a vision of living unity in spite of its theological schism and denominational discord. Indeed, the remarkable thing to observe is that the most broken side of the Church, Protestantism, has displayed in the last century in England and America more sense of social solidarity than the Catholic Church, which in the middle ages stood for socialization.

"Many members of the Church of England are Socialists, and would establish a commonwealth whose people should own the land and the industrial capital and administer them co-operatively for the good of all. Such public ownership they regard as urgent, and as a necessary deduction from the teachings of the Church. They are not communists but socialists. Far from seeking the abolition of private property or the curtailment of personal freedom, they desire such an industrial rearrangement of society as shall not only increase the national output but shall secure to the majority the wealth they produce and the liberty they have hitherto been denied.

"The Christian faith cannot be summed up in the word socialism, nor should it be finally identified with any political or economic system. For all this, churchmen are convinced that the principles which underlie socialism are, so far as they go, the principles of the Christian religion as applied to political, commercial, and industrial problems." *

In America the Federal Council of Churches, an organization of a number of Protestant churches, was formed for the purpose of advocating economic programs for the people's advantage. In New York the Federation of Churches has a similar but more limited object. Certain churches see the danger of alliance with the conservative and exploiting classes and are making efforts to be of specific assistance in abolishing poverty and misery and in securing the economic independence of the working-classes.

* Conrad Noel, "Socialism and Church History," p. 7.

The Salvation Army is an economic force transforming down-and-outers into productive citizens, with all kinds of economic machinery in the city and in the country.

There is today a new social efficiency coming into the Protestant churches of the West. Mr. Robert Bruère has made a survey of Protestant church conditions in rural communities, particularly in Virginia and in the Middle West. The future of the country church, he declares, depends upon its dealing with economic and social questions which affect the people. The response made in Virginia and Iowa to this new attitude is surprising. Churches that had been dead came to life and exerted a powerful influence in the community by taking up economic questions of interest to the community.

There is a picture of a church in the *World's Work,* December, 1913, underneath which is written: "Church Facilities as a Farmer's Investment." The proprietors of Ravenswood Farm, in their efforts to solve the labor problem in central Missouri, helped build this church and they have got their money back in efficient service. So there is an effort in the West to use the church as an economic power and it is found to possess economic power.

Then, for the East, a book by Gill and Pinchot has been recently published, giving a survey of the condition of country churches in New England.

"A country community in Vermont had been without a church for more than twenty years. When Mr. Gill came to it, the moral and social laxity of the whole community was flagrant. Disbelief in the existence of goodness appeared to be common, public disapproval of indecency was timid or lacking, and religion was in general disrepute. Not only was there no day of worship, but also no day of rest. Life was mean, hard, small, selfish. Land belonging to the town was openly pillaged by the public officers who held it in trust; real estate values were low and among the respectable families there was a general desire to sell their property and move away.

"Then the Church was organized. The change which followed was swift, striking, thorough, and enduring. The public property of the town, once a source of graft and demoralization, became a public asset; the value of real estate increased beyond all proportion to the general rise of land values elsewhere. In the decade which has elapsed since the Church began to work, boys and girls of a new type have been brought up; the reputation of the village has been changed from bad to good."

When religion is seen to be a biological product resulting from human need, its economic influence does not require defense. Religion met human need, otherwise it would have perished. As the most fundamental need of man was food and a return for his labor, his religion never could have militated against those results. Religion today is of many kinds; to criticize an early form of religion from a later industrial level is useless. Mr. Billy Sunday does a great

deal of good; he makes happier homes and quieter working-people, but his theology is archaic. Yet even he has economic effect. A mine owner in Pennsylvania found in his expense account that his mules were costing him only a half of what they had been costing. Upon inquiry, as he told a friend of mine, he found the mule drivers had been so affected by Mr. Sunday's Scranton revival that they had given up swearing and beating their animals, drinking and destroying harnesses.

We are about to get a fresh hold on religion, which has been waiting several centuries for a new psychology. The new religion will be both a tonic to human nature and a renovation of economic practice.

The Hebrew tradition and the Roman run through the Christian Church; the first puts more emphasis on life and usefulness; the other on death and punishment. When the Papacy developed a hierarchical state, the Roman governmental system, which it largely inherited, naturally smothered communistic Hebrew elements. These reasserted themselves sporadically. An economic rebellion attended a theological rebellion. This was true under Hus, Wyclif, and Luther.

We must always remember the difference between religion and the Church. The religious currents of an age often run clearest outside the Church. The brightest vision is often seen by the

solitary man who is unrecognized by organized and established churches. It is upon this class of prophets, messiahs, philosophers, reformers, revolutionists, the precious commission has been bestowed of richly contributing to the eternal renewal and growth of the human spirit.

The Roman Church succeeded to much of the power and organization of the Roman Empire; its imperialistic ideas, naturally, are the essence of conservatism. But in every state, the Church, where it is an establishment, is conservative. Even when the Church is supported by a voluntary system, it is maintained for the most part, by moneyed classes and consequently is conservative when economic ideas are involved. The Church's social sympathy is individual rather than corporate; its social idealism is sentimental and not essential. The solitaries or little groups who advocated progress have often been sacrificed; a transformation of conditions that would relieve the distress of misery has never been undertaken. Today the great churches of the world stand ready to block a popular revolution, if such should be the outcome of the war, just as they did after Waterloo when the Pope, the arch-conservative, was made the repository of the peace of Europe and reaction "put on the lid."

Of course "the Church" could not prevent the war, or stop it. The Church, regarded as a conservative institution, was a part of the war historically and economically. The German feudal-

ism still must thank Luther for some of its stubborn strength transferred to it from the Papacy; plutocracy must thank Calvin for a destruction of budding social motives; while economically the principles of the Church are the same as those which have embroiled the nation. Her outcries have been local; her interference political. She has had no vision superior to that of the combatants; no high outlook above the battle. To put it crudely, the Church has adopted the reigning economies and is merely a rubber stamp to commercialism. It sees with the eyes of bankers, statesmen, diplomats, and manufacturers. It is not ahead of them pointing out a better way, but is behind them depending upon their defense to preserve its property and its influence.

Religious people, being largely unacquainted with the history of economics, are generally not aware of the serious injustice they practice against the classes they employ. They regard economic conditions as inexorable, divinely ordained, part of the natural order, and they make their conduct conform to an absolute and personal rather than to a changing and social ideal. Charity and a good conscience are the ends of their religious effort. In the old days slaveholders had good consciences and were benevolent. Today employers, whose hands are stained with the blood of Homestead, Pullman, Ludlow, Cabin Creek, have apparently good consciences and are most charitable.

The moment economics are discovered to be

plastic and the so-called laws of economics merely a relation of personal humaneness, depending upon social ideas that are held at different times, then religion becomes obedient to a social law; then charity becomes an insult; a good conscience hypocrisy.

Religion today can be a distinct help to the working-classes. We are living in a time when two comparatively new sciences, psychology and sociology, are recreating the foundations of religious thought. If these lead us to accept as a definition of religion—that it is the impulse to eternal growth—then there is no limit to the service that religion can perform for the humbler classes of society. Religion will urge their eternal value and will console them with ardent encouragement for an eternal career. It will preach the formation of a society where growth is more generally possible than in our own and it will urge upon the strong the duty and privilege of assisting the freest and fullest development of the weak.

Religion too will direct the paths of emotion which are so largely the paths of action and as a preface for all this will accustom the men of power today to the idea of a new world-order in which the worker is not held down but lifted up; is not silenced but listened to; is not insulted but honored.

Religion must affect industrial life, otherwise the culmination of material prosperity is the sig-

nal for decadence by misuse of wealth at the hands of pleasure-loving heirs of great property. Only by altruistic and social motives entering and possessing a civilization, at the moment of its dangerous instability, will it endure.

The Great War has exploded for our generation the idea that religion can be something apart from the whole organization of life.

XII

LABOR ORGANIZATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON OUR PROBLEMS

"The problem is to place the laborer in a position to collect due return for his labor."

"The cure of poverty is prevention."

Life of Joseph Fels, by MARY FELS.

"In the degree in which men have an active concern in the ends that control their activity, their activity becomes free or voluntary and loses its externally enforced and servile quality, even though the physical aspect of behavior remain the same. What is termed politics, democratic social organization makes provision for this direct participation in control; in the economic region, control remains external and autocratic. . . . An education which should unify the disposition of the members of society would do much to unify society itself."

JOHN DEWEY,
Democracy and Education, p. 305.

"The Trade Union Acts of 1872 and 1875 averted a revolution." (These Acts gave legal status in the United Kingdom to trade-unions.)

John Morley's Recollections, Vol. I, p. 143.

CHAPTER XII

LABOR ORGANIZATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON OUR PROBLEMS

WHILE American business has in general refused sympathetic attention to trade-unionism and takes even today a hostile attitude to labor organizations, the leading countries of Europe—England, France, and Germany—even before the war co-operated notably with labor. This may seem all the more remarkable to us because in Germany labor was so largely socialistic, in France syndicalistic, while the British labor unions were admitted into the Socialist Congresses on the Continent and given a vote. Although this co-operation was different in different countries, it produced more industrial peace and more industrial efficiency than that enjoyed by America.

Now in the midst of war "labor" in these European countries is advancing to still further power. I have even heard rumors of an industrial rather than a political democracy as desired in Germany, and a labor rather than a "liberal party" government as possible in England.

Before America has taken the first sympathetic step towards labor, her most dangerous com-

petitors in trade may have gone almost the whole distance.

Organized labor in America has many good points. The Rev. Charles Stelzle, himself once a mechanic, now a trusted adviser of conservative as well as labor interests, writes in the *Miner's Journal* for August, 1917:

"Labor halls have come to be important social centers. Here helpful lecture courses on moral and economic subjects are frequently given. The labor press has its educative value. Many of the labor journals, especially those published by the International, give courses in technical training.

"A genuine moral uplift comes through the regular meetings of the union, because a man must present his facts in a definite, convincing form if he hopes to win over his associates to his beliefs. Every man has a fair chance to preach these views, no matter how unpopular they may be.

"Nowhere does one get a more patient hearing than at a labor union meeting. Here, too, he learns the lesson of subordination to the wills of others. He learns the value of 'team work'—of co-operation.

"In the labor movement the working-man learns the lesson of thrift. Rarely does a trade-unionist apply to organized charity or any other form of charity for relief. It is easily possible to talk about the value of the trade-union as a force for temperance. One can easily make a strong argument in this direction. The question of the education and the Americanizing of the immigrant must be discussed in favor of the trade-union.

"Child-labor, the sweat shop, unsanitary conditions in shop and home, are all questions concerning which trade-unionism need not be ashamed to speak."

In England "the principle of the recognition of trade-unions by the state has been conceded during the war." "Trade-unionism has much to contribute to the working out of reconstruction and its contribution could best be made through some form of national labor council, representatives of the whole trade-union movement and responsible for expressing to the government the considered policy of the movement, and for negotiating with it concerning trade-unions and labor questions." *

A vice-president of the National City Bank has expressed the opinion that the war will weaken trade-unionism and that it will be easier to deal with working-men as individuals after the war,—that there will be less collective bargaining. This is a dangerous hope for our financiers to indulge in—for they will naturally be inclined to hasten or assist what in their opinion the times presage, and obey Nietzsche's maxim, "if you see a thing falling, push it"; but they will discover that they are attempting to overthrow the strongest thing in the world—organized labor—and that their assault only increases its strength.

Worse still, such an attitude towards labor of aggressive ill-will fails to take note of what the war has brought about in England, whence we

* *Monthly Review*, U. S. Labor Statistics, August, 1917.

derive on the whole our labor legislation and program. Our labor condition in the United States was the same before the war as the English condition. "In pre-war days," says G. H. Roberts, M.P., "employers and employees were rapidly drifting into a state of mutual suspicion and ill-concealed antagonism." Dr. Arthur Shadwell, from whose article in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1917, the quotation is taken, believes that England has lost its opportunity of peaceful adjustment by its failure to punish private profiteering during the war while it exacted a full measure of patriotic sacrifice from labor. The situation in England is tense. Dr. Shadwell says, "The country is on the edge of an industrial volcano."

But the British Government is taking steps to conciliate labor and to strengthen it. A report was issued in July by a sub-committee of the reconstruction committees for the permanent improvement of relations between employers and workmen. One important undertaking will be the restoration of trade-union rules and customs suspended by the war. "National industrial councils are advocated in order to secure co-operation by granting to working-men and women a greater share in the consideration of matters affecting their industry." England is on the edge of an industrial revolution; her government is making arrangement for greater co-operation between employers and employees and the encouragement of trade-unionism, while American financiers,

when their country is in precisely the same situation of intense labor unrest, are counting upon the break-up of labor organizations. Do they forget that just before the United States entered the war, in the first months of 1917, organized labor roundly declared it would not obey laws that might be passed to prevent strikes, affirming that they would rather be called law-breakers than to become slaves? In America before the war labor was threatening and capital was losing patience. In August, 1917, John Mitchell's description of the attitude of American labor duplicates the English situation:

"It must be remembered that the workers have been hearing about the tremendous earnings of some of the large corporations. The cost of living for the workman has increased, however, and so this great prosperity represents adversity for him. His wages have been increased, but his purchasing power is actually less than before the war. So they feel, and justly, I believe, that they should be given some share of this prosperity." *

Why should not like causes provoke like results? Why should America not face an industrial revolution if it persists in measures and attitudes which in England caused a serious writer in an important review to say, "The country is on the edge of an industrial volcano"?

There are indeed more reasons for industrial disturbances in America. We have similar labor

* New York *Evening Post*, August 8, 1917.

conditions, but we have exasperated them. England has encouraged unionism. Our greatest corporations are the foes of organized labor. Oil, steel, copper, all have fought labor fiercely. Our great traction companies are also the foes of trade-unionism. We in the United States have as combustible material collected for an industrial revolution as they have in England; in addition, upon our bonfire we have poured petroleum.

America at war may acquire industrial methods which will leave their mark on business,—socialized methods more like those of England, or France, or Germany. Professor Kuno Francke, of Harvard University, believes that "there will assert itself in all the countries affected by the war a strong influence of the German principle of the responsibility of the state for the physical, moral, and intellectual effectiveness of all its members. And the result will be an era of social and educational reform throughout the world." To do this our intense individualism will have to be modified; existing feuds between employer and employee will have to cease; the prosecution and the "frame up" of labor leaders will have to be discarded and mutual distrust overcome. Employers, judges, political parties, will have to treat the labor question more sympathetically and intelligently.

Labor in America aspires to what Europe has given and is likely to enlarge—an influential voice in industry and government. In war time

the state asks all of us what we can do to help. In peace time a labor government would see to it that all of us actually and intelligently did help the state.

Three Labor Propagandas

Looking toward labor control of government, there are in the United States three distinct propagandas. Socialism works through political methods but looks forward ultimately to a labor government in place of a political government. Industrial unionism, as represented by the Industrial Workers of the World—the I. W. W.'s—believes in direct action rather than political methods to gain its ends—in strikes rather than in legislation. But it also looks forward to a labor government.

The New Machine is an incipient movement to form a government by the mobilizing of arts and science, that is by the harmonious co-operation of the scientific, art, industrial, and business forces of the country. The real rulers will rule, not a *fainéant* political party. Here again actual productive power is substituted in government for political power.

"The American Commonwealth (says Charles Ferguson) can be made powerful and prosperous by substituting for the existing partisan or bipartisan 'Machine' in local communities a political institution

devoted to really practical politics, namely, to an economy of the resources of nature and the creative abilities of men, with a view to increasing the purchasing-power of everybody's day's work." *

The labor movement in America in its extreme expression can best be studied in the I. W. W., feared for its fearlessness by the conservative; applauded for its efficiency by the radical.

The I. W. W. has received a great many hard knocks from the press as well as from policemen's clubs, not only for what it has done, but on account of the mystery which surrounds its organization and methods. More power has been imputed to them than they possess; more anarchistic violence than they plan; more deviltry than they are capable of.

Glimpses behind the scenes are welcome that reveal the I. W. W. in undress, in its every-day organization and methods.

The court proceedings in Seattle, attending the trial of Thomas Tracy, have opened the I. W. W. to the light of common day.

"The vague, incoherent specter of an unmentionable organization, which has haunted the minds of the average citizens at the words I. W. W., received a local habitation and a name, and was seen to consist of local unions, secretaries, committees, and other commonplace elements."

* New York *Evening Post*, March 27, 1917.

History of the I. W. W.

A description of this organization from the mouth of one of its founders may help us to see the limitations and weakness of this—the fighting labor organization. I shall proceed, therefore, for a few paragraphs to use the language of Mr. Thomas Flynn, the father of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who was for some time the New York organizer of the I. W. W. and who was interested enough in my study of the organization to give me this story of the movement:

"The I. W. W. was an outgrowth of the Social Trade and Labor Alliance and of the Socialist Labor Party. In 1904 American Socialists, troubled about method, issued a call for a convention at Chicago. The I. W. W., it has been said, was launched by the Western Federation of Miners as a buffer. They did actually participate, but the Socialist Party fought shy.

"De Leon, however, saw in the convention a way to get back into the Socialist Party. Representing at Chicago the old remnant of the Social Trade and Labor Alliance, he was easily the dominating figure of the convention. He was what I would call a fifteenth-century mind. If embittered against any one he was not merely vehement but venomous.

"The Chicago Convention was held in 1905. Bill Haywood was in the chair. Father Hagerty, a Roman Catholic priest, drew up the preamble of the I. W. W. convention. The stand taken was calculated to put over Socialism and to do it in opposition to the old

trade-unions. The I. W. W. as an industrial organization was planned that it might grow up within capitalism and finally replace capitalism after the latter's overthrow.

"De Leon, acting at this time in good faith, had his way in the convention. The I. W. W. movement published a paper, but De Leon with his paper, *The People,* was the real spokesman. Socialists as a whole opposed the movement and blamed Debs, whom they considered an able but mistaken man. They believed that the I. W. W. was nothing but the Social Trade and Labor Alliance launched again.

"However, there were one hundred thousand dues-paying members at the very least; in other words, the movement was at its height.

"A second convention was held in 1906. The disagreement came here to a head. Debs did not attend this convention nor had afterward anything to do with the I. W. W.

"After the convention De Leon was hailed as the savior of the organization, when actually by eliminating Sherman and the Western Federation of Miners he had split it in two—all for the sake of getting rid of one man.

"In 1907 the convention was under the control of De Leon, who juggled its politics at his will.

"The 1908 convention was a fight against De Leonism, which resulted in De Leon and his following being thrown out. De Leon was expelled upon a technicality —that being in the printing trade he had no business to present his credentials as one of the store and office workers.

"You sometimes hear of De Leonism. By that is meant De Leon's desire for political action in the set-

tlement of disputes as a 'civilized' method. He preferred the ballot and peaceful agitation.

"The 1908 convention dropped the political clause and became a straight-out labor organization. De Leon immediately called it an anarchist group and went further in his denunciations than any capitalist. He formed another I. W. W. in Michigan, which has what is practically an imaginary existence in Detroit, the main organization remaining in Chicago with Trautman as its chief organizer.

"In 1909, though there was no convention, a beginning was made at doing things as a labor organization. Previous to 1909 there had been no big strikes except one in Schenectady which after two or three days' duration was a failure.

"At this time Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was in Missoula, Montana. At the army post in this town it happened that many of the soldiers had been reading a book by Hervé, entitled 'Anti-Patriotism,' an argument against militarism. This aroused discussion which finally culminated in a riot incited by an itinerant I. W. W. speaker, who was arrested. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, not having been one of the speakers, was not arrested and was the only one of the local organization left free. She telegraphed all the available I. W. W. traveling speakers, who arrived in almost every train, held street meetings, and were arrested one and all. The jail was filled and an annex, a schoolhouse appropriated for the purpose, was also filled. The prisoners claimed the food was not good enough or in large enough quantities. The authorities saw they had too much of a problem, especially in regard to expense, on their hands and opened the jail. Immediately, mass meetings were held in the principal streets and many

converts to the I. W. W. movement were made. After the meeting the prisoners tried to get back into the jail but found they had been locked out.

"They thought they could do this same trick in every city. They tried it in Spokane but were beaten, starved, and put in sweat boxes. But in spite of this they persisted and the city was finally made to recognize the right of free speech.

"In 1910 occurred the McKees Rocks Strike, which was run by the I. W. W. and marked the beginning of sabotage. The State constabulary was called in to settle the strike. They clubbed and shot one of the strikers. The strikers in turn killed one of the State constabulary men and declared they would kill one for every striker that was shot. The strikers won. In 1911 occurred the Lawrence Strike and later the Paterson Strike. Meanwhile from 1908 on strikes and free street fights did nothing to organize the working-class.

"In 1912 I became the New York organizer. I felt there was too much of the 'bum element'; and that there were no actual organized bodies of working-men. I did not believe in street meetings but rather in meeting with the working-men in their halls.

"The convention in 1913 was the occasion of the fight between 'centralizers' and 'decentralizers' about organization. The organization not only made it possible for a little coterie at headquarters to dominate the entire movement, but also great injustice was done by a flat rather than a proportional method of representation. The decentralizers, however, were so divided—some of them favoring no organization at all—that the convention endorsed the old centralized methods.

"At the report of this action of the convention the

locals in New York melted away like snow. As a result the general executive board, that is to say, the centralizers, won. The principal locals had been the piano workers in the Bronx, and the silk-workers. Since the convention in 1913 there has been very little to the I. W. W. movement—the piano workers, for instance, becoming an independent union.

"Considerable work has been done in the West, where the situation is altogether different from the East, especially among migratory workers, such as harvest workers. In the East, outside of Paterson and perhaps Philadelphia, there is no real organization. In 1905 there were one hundred thousand dues-paying members. In 1913 at the convention the total number of votes was only 2,200, showing how the organization had run down.

"Many I. W. W.'s represent a state of mind and not a formal adherence to the organization or to the constitution. For instance, in the winter of 1913-14, Frank Tannenbaum, who wanted to organize the unemployed and who came to Haywood and secured his approval, was not a formal I. W. W."

The Futility of Trade-Unionism

The I. W. W. have seen the futility of trade organization or craft organization. Trade-unionism has developed an aristocracy of labor,—each craft looks out for itself and is as capitalistic as the employers. Each union will make separate contracts and will sell its labor as readily as a shoe manufacturer sells shoes. Employers are able to take advantage of these sepa-

rate organizations to make separate contracts with them which terminate at different dates. The result of this is, generally, that some of these craftsmen can be kept at work in time of strikes and the works can be kept open. This fact becomes a basis for an appeal by the employer for individual workmen, that is to say, non-union men, to take the place of the strikers. It also provides a basis for the public claim that his place is going on as usual, which has a very important effect upon the newspaper-reading public. "A manager of a railroad who can keep control of fifteen per cent. of the old men can allow eighty-five per cent. to go out on strike and defeat them every time." *

There are two types of unions,—the craft union, which is organized according to the tools used, and the industrial union, which includes the whole industry. This latter is the I. W. W. type. The I. W. W. believe in the organization of an industry from top to bottom. They take into this organization both men and women and give them equal voting power. They not only take in men and women, but boys and girls, if they are employed in an industry. That is to say, the organization of the I. W. W., in what may be called its political form, parallels its industrial form. Such an organization is a keen criticism of modern democracy, which demands child-labor and female labor for the creation of wealth and yet will

* André Tridon, "The New Unionism," p. 8.

not give to these persons—necessary for its industrial existence—a political status.

William Haywood says that thirty-five million workers in the United States cannot join the American Federation of Labor. In other words, he considers organized government by the union workers is as harsh and exclusive as organized government by the capitalists.

The futility of trade-unions is revealed by conditions which diminish the importance of skilled labor. Specialization in industry has become so particularized as to provide a different job for almost every different mechanical motion required in production. As a result an individual of any intelligence in most shops and mills can acquire his "trade" in a very short time.

The general cause for the failure of trade-unions is declared by Mr. André Tridon—the author of "The New Unionism"—to be the injudicious use of power.

"Trade-unions are efficient as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail to a certain extent, however, from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally because they confine themselves to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system instead of trying to change it in its entirety, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working-class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wage system." *

* Tridon, "The New Unionism," p. 11.

Syndicalism

The word "Syndic" has been in common use in France in connection with labor associations for two generations. The nearest equivalent for "Trade-Unions" in French is "Syndicats ouvriers" ("Working-men Syndicates"). However, the word "Syndicalism" is of more recent origin and has a special meaning. It denotes the policy of the "Confédération Générale du Travail," the object of which is the destruction by force of the existing organization and the transfer of industrial capital from its present possessors to Syndicalists, or in other words to the revolutionary Trade-Unions. The means by which this object is to be secured is the "General Strike."

"French Trade Unions are divided into two classes. In the one are those unions which propose to gain their ends by revolutionary means, and are known as 'Syndicats rouges'; in the other are those whose efforts to improve their position are restricted within constitutional limits, and are called 'Syndicats jaunes.'" *

Syndicalism bases its revolutionary program not only upon economic but upon social conditions. M. Sorel declares that the bourgeoisie, which ought to be the pioneer of progress, "has lost all virility, and its present attitude is a mixture of whimpering egoism in dread of spolia-

* Sir Arthur Clay, "Syndicalism and Labour," p. 2.

tion, and of feeble-minded humanitarianism. The world cannot look for help from this source. The lamentations of a lachrymose bourgeoisie will not avail to save it." *

This same finding is a part of the extreme industrial radicalism in England and in America. It asserts that the middle class, which has been the backbone of these nations, is being dissolved, part ascending to millionairedom and part being cast into the ranks of the proletariat.

Syndicalism proposes to make the middle class wake up and fight for its life and so to give new vital direction to civilization.

The syndicalist may so firmly believe in this purpose of his doctrine as to attain a feeling closely akin to religious fervor. For instance, M. Sorel not only asserts a close analogy between syndicalism and religion but goes on to the conclusion that it is to be accepted as a religion. He finds warrant for this belief in Bergson's teaching that a revolutionary myth has as good a title as a religion to inspire the conscience of men.

The I. W. W. are interesting because they represent the militant side of American labor organizations. They are American Syndicalists; they believe in the irreconciliable conflict between the classes; they repel all aid from outside their own numbers; they scorn reform or any compromises; they despise even their fellow-work-

* Sir Arthur Clay, "Syndicalism and Labour," p. 11.

men who are members of trade-unions with their aristocratic and capitalistic tendencies.

The Syndicalist is anti-militarist as against workmen but militarist as against employers. His prime object, however, is not destruction but the study of economic law and productive processes so that finally when by his warfare upon capital he takes possession himself industrially, he may be capable of carrying it on.

The novelty of the principles and methods of labor organization can be judged by the fact that the word "Syndicalism" and the word "Sabotage" are not to be found either in the New Century Dictionary (1911) or the "Encyclopædia of Social Reform" (1908).

Sabotage

Sabotage is closely enough connected with Syndicalism and the I. W. W. to warrant a brief explanation. The essence of sabotage is injury done to the employer by his employees, while working for him. If labor is considered as a merchandise sold in the open market, which is the theory accepted by capital, there is no reason why workers should not attempt to raise their prices for this merchandise of labor when economic conditions either compel or permit them to do so. If, when this is attempted, employers prove unwilling, the worker, the I. W. W. claim, may then give inferior labor for inferior pay. This, then, is the theory of sabotage—poor work for poor pay.

Sabotage is a device practiced by workers in their militant efforts to raise prices. They believe themselves justified by capitalistic destruction to raise prices or dividends.

"Carloads of potatoes were destroyed in Illinois recently and cotton was burned in the Southern stores; coffee was destroyed by the Brazilian planters; barge loads of onions were dumped overboard in California, apples are left to rot on the trees of whole orchards in Washington; and hundreds of tons of foodstuffs are held in cold storage and rendered unfit for consumption." *

"There are three kinds of sabotage:

"1. Active sabotage, which consists in the damaging of goods or machinery.

"2. Open-mouthed sabotage beneficial to the ultimate consumer and which consists in exposing or defeating fraudulent commercial practices.

"3. Obstructionism or passive sabotage, which consists in carrying out orders literally, regardless of consequences." †

The ease with which sabotage can be practiced by an employee is seen from the following advice given to French syndicalists by Sébastien Faure and Pouget.‡

"To put boilers out of order use explosives or silicates or plain glass bottle which thrown on the glowing coals hinders combustion and clogs up the smoke exhausts. You can also use acids to corrode boiler tubes;

* Tridon, "The New Unionism," p. 54. † p. 43. ‡ p. 48.

acid fumes will ruin cylinders and piston rods. A small quantity of some corrosive substance, a handful of emery will be the end of oil cups. When it comes to dynamos or transformers, short circuits and inversion of poles can be easily managed. Underground cables can be destroyed by fire, water, or explosives."

Such advice discloses both the delicacy of the modern industrial organism as well as the high moral standards and loyalty to society at large upon which social stability depends. Without the co-operation of all classes, "peace" in the future will be only a more hateful form of war.

The Futility of the Ballot

The I. W. W. do not believe in securing their rights by votes. They are not suspicious of the ballot but laugh at it. Out of the thirty-five millions of workers in the United States, there are "approximately eighteen million people who can in no manner be directly interested in politics, to wit: 1,700,000 children wage-workers, 4,800,000 women wage-workers, 3,500,000 foreign wage-workers, 5,000,000 negro wage-workers, 3,000,000 floating and otherwise disfranchised wage-workers."

Moreover, the proletariat is learning the lesson that "political power is merely the reflex of economic power and that political advantage can only be had through economic superiority." *

* Tridon, "The New Unionism," pp. 14, 15.

The I. W. W. are not a political party nor do they want to be. That would be treachery to their every hope. Vandervelde holds that "the great truth contained in the theory of direct action is that one cannot obtain vital reforms through intermediaries, who are governed by public opinion.* This theory that the political representatives of labor succumb to public opinion and are finally disloyal to labor deserves attention. In other words, the I. W. W. exist to do what political parties cannot do. They would unite the workers in the places where they work in order that the fight with individual employers can be made unitedly and the class spirit of the workers developed in united fashion. Finally,—so runs the ideal program,—the workers will be able to seize the workshops and will operate them for themselves.

No ownership, except by the workers themselves, is considered feasible by the I. W. W. They oppose Socialism, on the ground that it is a political party, and specifically a program of government ownership, that is to say, another form of indirect action. To be sure the Socialist Party holds that it is the workers who are going to vote themselves to control of the government; that is, the socialized government will run the industries. But this, to the I. W. W., would be merely a new variety of the slavery that already

* Tridon, "The New Unionism," p. 24.

exists under private ownership. The pressure of public opinion is their *bête noire.*

Emergence of the I. W. W. to Clearer Public View

At the trial of Thomas Tracy for the murder of Jefferson Beard, some very interesting evidence was introduced which brightens the face of the I. W. W. The murder took place when the I. W. W. excursion boat from Seattle, containing I. W. W. members, tried to land in Everett, Washington, to demonstrate in favor of free speech and their organization, which had been driven out of the town. I quote from the New York *Evening Post,* of March 27, 1917:

"An ordinance signed by the Mayor on September 21 prohibited street-speaking in the business section.

" 'Don't you know,' said Mr. Vanderveer, 'that the records of that ordinance show that it never was passed and never was even voted on?'

" 'I haven't examined the records,' said the Mayor.

" 'You signed them, didn't you?' And this the Mayor admitted. Rushed through illegally, an ordinance which had never even been voted on was put into effect by the Mayor's signature, and because they were under suspicion of intending to violate this ordinance, I. W. W.'s were deported, with and without beatings.

"That I. W. W. speakers were arrested repeatedly, thrown into jail, taken next day to the city limits, sometimes beaten, and that this occurred repeatedly during August, September, and October, during which time no

member of the organization resisted arrest or violated any city ordinance, or received a trial on the question of street-speaking, is clear from the State's own witnesses."

The I. W. W. of all labor organizations have studied the history of strikes most carefully and are best acquainted with the tactics of labor warfare. They believe that a trained fighting organization, even if small, is better than a large, and what they consider timid, apathetic trades-union organization, successful only in collecting large dues.

Militancy of the I. W. W.

In America the death or the imprisonment of I. W. W. leaders, and the unsuccessful outcome of some of their strikes, has diverted, in the East, attention from them. The success, on the other hand, of the labor unions, under the leadership of Mr. Gompers, by entirely different ideas and methods, is so extraordinary that it may well be that Syndicalism in America lacks the economic importance it has had in France and Italy. At the same time it should be noticed that the A. F. of L. is not in sympathy with the extreme labor groups in Europe. A more socialistic labor party may be expected in America which would be a link between Europe's radicals and our own, but not going to either extreme.

I used the words of one of the organizers of the

I. W. W. to describe its origin and its career till 1913. I will use the description of another well-known labor leader for the period from 1913 to May, 1917. The following statement was prepared for me by Patrick L. Quinlan in April, 1917:

"Since the great strike of 1913, when the silk industry of Paterson and Union Hill, New Jersey; Long Island City and Manhattan, New York, and Hazelton, Pennsylvania, was at a standstill, the I. W. W. has given no concrete evidence of life in the world of labor. True, it has been heard from frequently during the past three and a half years, but the disturbance made by it was vocal rather than industrial. Indeed, I may safely say that all the energies of the I. W. W. during the past few years have been devoted to the Joe Hill case, the Everett (Washington) shooting, and to free speech fights of dubious value.

"I have just returned from a tour of the industrial centers of the East and Middle West and I regret to state that I did not observe any tangible or concrete evidence of I. W. W. activity. On the contrary I noticed a tendency to abandon it all along the line.

"In Chicago I was amazed to discover that the central body of trade-unions, the Chicago Federation of Labor, had amongst its delegates several men who were formerly active and prominent in the I. W. W. These were W. Z. Foster, the writer of pamphlets on syndicalism and sometime leader on the Pacific Coast; John A. Jones, once active in Butte, the Mesaba Range, and other metalliferous regions; Morris, formerly of the hotel and restaurant workers of New York, and several others of more or less importance.

"In New England I found only a remnant of the former greatness of the I. W. W. Small organizations in Lawrence, Providence, and one or two other cities, which total only about 3,500 members, comprise the I. W. W. of New England. Paterson, New Jersey, where the I. W. W. once lorded it, has now an A. F. of L. union which is larger than the I. W. W. local, and an unattached and independent silk workers' organization. There is no other branch of the I. W. W. in New Jersey, while the great State of New York has, practically speaking, no I. W. W. representation. Baltimore and Philadelphia combined have a few thousand longshoremen and freight handlers enrolled in the I. W. W. This with a few 'mixed or recruiting locals' here and there sums up the I. W. W. strength east of Chicago and St. Louis.

"In the West the position of the I. W. W. is somewhat better. Several thousand farm hands or agricultural laborers are enrolled in what is known as the Agricultural Workers' Organization. All through the West they are dubbed as 'wobblies' and they have taken kindly to the name.

"There were rumors in Minneapolis that the A. W. O. would throw overboard Haywood, the general secretary, or leave the I. W. W. altogether and go it alone.

"Wherever I traveled I observed that the I. W. W. had no standing and made little progress when confronted with American Federation of Labor opposition. It only secured headway in fields ignored by the older organizations.

"The general conclusions I am compelled to arrive at are: that industrialism is growing but very slowly; that the development of machinery and the elimination of crafts will be the chief contributing cause to the successful growth of the industrial idea; that agitation for

industrialism has not deeply permeated the minds of the mass of the workers, though they in a general way approve of the outlines of industrialism; that while the A. F. of L. has absorbed and is absorbing independent unions (the Bricklayers is a notable example) it is not enthusiastically adopting the industrial program. It is true that industrial departments like the metal, the mining, the building trades, etc., are in existence, but the craft union in the building trades still exercises autonomy and through the international organizations nullifies the usefulness of the departments in Washington. The mining trades alone are industrialized, but more for organic than educational reasons.

"The failure of the I. W. W. can be laid to two factors, viz., the strength of the craft unions and the unreadiness of craft union officials to amalgamate; the ignorance of the rank and file; abortive and ill-timed strikes conducted by the I. W. W.; opposition to the industrial idea from the press and the big interests; and last and most important of all, the nonsensical talk and acts of most of the I. W. W. speakers and active workers. Another general reason for the decline of the I. W. W. is the psychology of the American people. They will not bother with failures."

In the autumn of 1917 I asked Mr. Quinlan to explain for the benefit of this chapter the activities of the I. W. W. in the harvest fields of the Middle and Far West. He replied as follows:

"Extraordinary and peculiar conditions produce strange results. The quick settlement of the Rocky Mountain States by men of small capital or none at all, who could not afford to provide rooms or decent accom-

modations for their temporary employees (harvest work being seasonal); the constant changes in the ownership of the farms, the migratory character of the population, made the establishment of a staple working-class impossible, hence the roving harvest hands, or 'wobblies,' who ride on freight trains from Oregon to Kansas in June, and from there back to the later ripening wheat fields of North Dakota and Montana.

"Except in a few of the Middle Western States those roving laborers are compelled to sleep outdoors all the time and are thereby forced to carry their own bed around with them. This explains the term 'blanket-stiff.' None of the old-established and responsible trade-unions would enter this field of labor. Some men who were members of the I. W. W. in the cities and in the lumber camps being blacklisted and forced to seek work among the farmers, seeing the primitive conditions obtaining, sought to remedy them by preaching the doctrines of the I. W. W.,—but in the weirdest and freakiest form. Like some of the mediæval saints they gloried in their misery in being outcasts. Their songs, notably 'Hallelujah, I am a bum,' illustrate finely this phase of their methods and life. In time they developed strength and with a fraternity of feeling and loyalty that was most remarkable for a new and scattered body that wages many fights. They filled many jails with their enthusiasts; they were often needlessly persecuted by the petty czars of the towns of the West and they sometimes brought trouble on themselves by their own foolishness.

"In time they developed such strength as to be able to organize themselves into a 'department' of the I. W. W. called the Agricultural Workers' Organization,

or the A. W. O., with its own officers, plant, etc. It only nominally acknowledges the jurisdiction of Haywood and the I. W. W. executive board. A case of the child growing more powerful than the parent.

"It is a mistake to accuse them of being anti-war or anti-American. On war matters and war issues the members of the A. W. O. say: 'We don't give a hang. We are simply trying to get more of the kale for the blanket-stiff and the wobbly.' They resort to a lot of strange talk about sabotage, but it is in most cases foam and froth.

"The majority of its members are American by birth. If they fail to see the value of citizenship it is because no attempt was ever made to give them the protection that should go with ordered liberty and statehood."

The problem of labor organization today is not that of the skilled craftsman whose scarcity gives him some power apart from his organization and whose trade gives a natural rallying cry. The present problem is how to gain and keep industrial advantage for the unskilled, not as being ignorant or indolent, but as being inevitably the great mass of labor, because invention and machinery are every day producing the "fool proof" machine and are rendering skill superfluous.

Scientific management and improved machinery are making production ampler but are not rendering distribution more generous. Our call for labor from all countries, our consequent introduction of European peasant labor to industrial enterprises, our inventiveness and cheapening of cost

by machinery with the tendency of money wages to fall, prices to rise, and skill to be less required, logically create labor organizations of the I. W. W. type,—largely of the unskilled, the disappointed, the embittered who trust only in their own efforts.

The problem of the casual worker is bound up with such an army and its organization. If America needs thousands of men to reap its harvests she cannot ignore them after the harvests. Among these harvest hands are the college boys who earn during the summer months money for their education, and can return to college. But what happens to the rest? Who is trying to place them? To call them vagrants and herd them in bull-pens and deport them is fatuous and an insult to the hands that rescued the food supply of the world from ripening in vain.

The I. W. W. have helped the unskilled. Again, who has done anything of general importance for the economic benefit of working-women and children? The I. W. W. by organizing these neglected and pitiably weak groups of workers have become the representatives of chivalry in the labor movement. The word chivalry comes from *cheval,* a horse. The chivalrous man in the old days was the knight on horseback—the symbol of armed might. The knight sought to redress wrongs, especially those suffered by women and the weak. But in our modern world the chivalrous man is this "vagrant" I. W. W. Vagrant means a man on foot—a walker, a wanderer.

"The I. W. W. that I knew," says Frank Tannenbaum in a letter to me on this subject, "I shall always look back upon with the greatest of reverence. Nowhere have I found that idealism, that love of one's kind, that social mindedness and sincerity. Nowhere as yet have I seen that willingness of self-sacrifice, that exulting joy in human development, that hope and faith in human progress and in the possibility of a more beautiful life.

"The men and women that I knew in the I. W. W.; the hard-working, rugged, and aspiring human beings, whose whole life seemed bound up with the struggles of their class to rise above its poverty and disorganization, were in pure human worth equal to the very best I know.

"The I. W. W. is the foreshadowing of a working-class organization that in the face of current tendencies seems almost inevitable. The I. W. W. as such may never complete its purpose of organizing a mighty and powerful industrial democracy, but it is serving the purpose of a pioneer in the struggle for equitable organization of our industrial life and as pioneer it has suffered the misrepresentation and calumnies usually heaped upon those who foreshadow the better and bigger things in life." *

* For the philosophy of Syndicalism, see Georges Sorel, "Reflections on Violence."

XIII

THE CURE FOR DEMOCRACY— "MORE DEMOCRACY"

"The moral question's ollus plain enough,—
It's jes' the human-nature side that's tough.
Wut's best to think mayn't puzzle me nor you,
The pinch comes in decidin' wut to du;
Ef you read History, all runs smooth ez grease,
Coz there the men ain't nothin' more'n ideas,—
But come to make it, ez we must today,
Th' idees hev arms an' legs an' stop the way."

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL,
The Biglow Papers, No. VI.

"He drew a circle that shut me out—
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
But love and I had the wit to win:
We drew a circle that took him in!"

EDWIN MARKHAM.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CURE FOR DEMOCRACY—"MORE DEMOCRACY"

PHILLIPS BROOKS once said to me with evident pride that there was no line of European kings that in ability compared with the list of American presidents. Democracy has done some things well.

Booker Washington, at a meeting of which I was chairman, gave a moving description of his early years. "In the year 1859 or 1860," he said, "I was born a slave in Virginia"; he then went on to give the audience a picture of his boyhood and of his final enrollment as a pupil at Hampton under General Armstrong. When he finished, a little man in the audience jumped up, and cried out, "Mr. Booker Washington says that in 1859 or 1860 he was born a slave in Virginia. I want him to know that he is not the only man in the room born a slave. In 1859 or 1860 I was born a slave in Ireland. It makes no difference that he was a chattel slave and I an industrial slave—we were both born to slavery. The emancipation of his race will not be complete until he has led it to industrial freedom." Democracy has not settled all our problems.

Democracy Has not Satisfied Expectations

Democracy has not satisfied expectations. It countenanced slavery until 1863. After a successful war against the slave States, and after giving citizenship to the negroes, our republic permitted the disfranchisement of millions of the emancipated race. America contains millions of paupers and prostitutes. Democracy, then, has not as yet shown the ability to solve the problem either of poverty or of happiness. As an institution it is regarded as not beyond the experimental stage. We remember the commotion excited a generation ago by James Russell Lowell's phrase, "Democracy is still an experiment." We would not become so hot today over his words.

Liberty, equality, and fraternity are still shy birds, not yet ensnared by the phrases of the Declaration of Independence. The working-man who depends upon a political party for his job, who must live in a certain ward or have taken from him the ticket which places him on the payroll of a favored contractor, has few of the sensations of a free man. The street-car conductor who is sent to jail for knocking down a fare and who sees the millionaire forger or embezzler go free, has little sense of equality under democratic institutions. As for fraternity, if it is even preached from Christian pulpits in these days, the preacher is called a Socialist, which, perhaps, indicates how far brotherliness is from being an

expected asset either of Christianity or of democracy. As capital becomes more reactionary, labor becomes more clamorous.

Democracy Is Used as a Cloak

Under these circumstances, democracy having failed to meet the general expectation, various earlier institutions have fastened themselves upon democracy as means for the immediate attainment of the good things of life. The gang, the clan, theocracy, the feudal state, the monarchy, the oligarchy, are all appealed to by republican citizens in various kinds of *imperia in imperio,* who scheme to get even with democracy for their disappointment, or to use it as a cloak under which to revive the earlier and easier forms.

In short, inferior forms of social and national organization have been resorted to within a democracy, to secure for the individual that measure of personal safety and advantage which he had hoped democracy itself would afford. What can you expect? Should not a man protect himself in any way he can against the harshness of life or of institutions? If he cannot have freedom, equality, and fraternity at the hands of the state which promises it, then he will join a lower order of social organization within the state if it promises him what he wants.

There are many people who are not aware of

their antagonism toward the state in which they live, and who hardly may consider themselves to belong to either of these groups hostile to democracy. But their ideas are so remote from democracy that they are on a lower plane, somewhere between the savage fighting for his own hand and the prince protecting his prerogatives. While in body they are members of a so-called democracy, in thought they are governed by ideas thousands of years removed from democracy.

The Gang a Reversion to Primitive Civilization

The Bowery tough and the slugging repeaters at election day are not democrats but the mental associates of naked savages. The tribal instinct that collects the "gang" in the slums, under a leader who has fought his way up in personal encounters, is a repetition of the earliest history of civilization. Yet these gangs have political power and are in fact a recognized part of political machinery. Here within democracy is a reversion to the most primitive type of human association.

Not only is the gang a travesty upon democracy, not only does it perform injurious and unlawful acts, but its ethical standards conflict at every point with organized society. In other words, not only is our state composed of fragments of older social and political units, but we suffer from the immature ethics that accompany these earlier ideals. The gang leader will not

only shoot to protect his lieutenant from arrest, but when he himself is shot he will not divulge the name of the assailant, reserving, according to his code, the right of private revenge.

"What are the chief elements of the gang spirit?" asks Luther Gulick. "First and foremost is a loyalty to the other members of the gang—a loyalty which no consideration of personal advantage will shake, but which will lead to the making of any sacrifice that may be needed in time of peril for the sake of the gang, or for individual members of it. It involves a willingness to fight together, to stand together under all conditions which we instinctively call masculine."

The Clan Revived in Political Machines

In notorious political machines we see the revival of the clan. The Celtic blood, Irish, Scotch, or Scotch-Irish, of so many of our politicians is significant. They perpetuate the clan organization in America. Ireland, according to George Moore, himself an Irishman and a landowner, was feudal even into the present generation. How natural, then, that immigrants from that country should ally themselves in our great cities with that form of political organization which utilized these enormous sources of warm-hearted loyalty developed by the institutions and the temperament of the Irish people. Of course, the result went further in our political machines than

feudal loyalty. Practically, it represented a survival within a democracy of the clan system,—unquestioning fidelity to a chief. Indeed, this name, "Chief," is today one of the most popular among the sturdy political workers who receive their reward from political machines. The head of every department, the superior within the department, in conversation is addressed by those below, and with evident relish, as "Chief." The psychology of this habit is too patent for comment.

The Mediæval Theocracy Persists in the Church

Theocracy is a power in America. The Roman Church—an attempt to combine politics and religion, the state and the Christian Church—although now largely stripped of direct political power, is a theocratic government, the remnant of a mediæval state. As a state, the Papacy performed important services from the fall of the Roman Empire in the West until the rise of the spirit of nationality in Europe: it preserved in itself remnants of Roman culture and it overawed northern Barbarism. Although its great political service is passed, it continues to wear the habit of a state. It has its legates, its diplomatic agents, its orders of nobility, its Swiss Guard, and what is more, it demands as necessary to its existence temporal power. This pre-

tender to a lost throne has sufficient political following to form a party in European as well as in American politics. In Germany the Catholic party, the Centrum, is opposed to parliamentary government. In England Catholicism has been conservative, even financing the Ulster revolution to thwart home rule.

The prelates of the Catholic Church, at the time of its recent centenary celebration in New York, were repeatedly called by the newspapers, and by the Catholics themselves, "the Princes of the Church." The flag of the Papacy, blowing against the Stars and Stripes, paraded our streets. The orators of Catholicism denounced our public schools, and lauded the monarchical principles of Romanism, expressing surprise that it got along so well with the democratic principles of the United States, not aware that Catholicism got along well because the democratic principle has not come to complete self-consciousness and has meanwhile surrendered its power into the hands of bosses and magnates, who, receiving favors from the Church, return them with interest. This monarchical principle in the Roman Church is emphasized, too, in the patents of nobility given by the Pope to American citizens, who even stamp coronets and their titles upon their visiting cards.

Feudalism as Bondage to the Job

Feudalism is resorted to in America. The dependence of thousands of persons for subsistence upon one person who has control of the elements of subsistence for them, as represented in land, mines, or machinery; the dependence of thousands, running from highly paid superintendents to poorly paid laborers, who practically are serfs, and are held by their poverty to one part of the country, reproduce the economic effect of feudalism.

"Bondage to the land was the basis of villainage in the old régime; bondage to the job will be the basis of villainage in the new." * This modern feudalism is not landed or military but industrial. I knew men in a mill city in Massachusetts who had never been on a railway train since they entered the city twenty years before. Their poverty tied them to the town as effectually as the feudal law tied the serf to the soil. Only feudal instincts have kept the negro so long after his emancipation upon the soil of the South; the same feudal instinct accounts for the high-handed treatment he has received—as if he could not at any time flee permanently from his tormentors.

Another mark of feudalism is the tendency in great mercantile centers for owners of land not to sell but to rent. Their method is a feudal

* Ghent, "Our Benevolent Feudalism," p. 184.

method. Their position is over-lordship. That, in our modern parlance, a lord is called a millionaire or a captain of industry makes no difference. He is the person who by possessions and power is able to demand and secure the services of social groups below his own, and even of churches and courts.

Monarchy has been lauded on American soil by such writers as Münsterberg, who claimed that the loyalty upon which a state depends can only be developed by attachment to the person of a sovereign.

In the South, the survival of aristocratic privilege is seen in the withdrawal of the suffrage from the negro and an insufferable social and economic treatment of them at last resulting in an exodus of black labor. In the North, a new aristocracy of wealth would like to withdraw the suffrage from the lower ranks of citizens, and actually does curb it by party machinery.

Actual Slavery Still

We not only have in our so-called democracy a tribal organization of gangsters, which, by murder and other criminal acts, has undermined our institutions, a clan political loyalty which weakens the state, a theocratic institution wielding some of the temporal glories of the past, a powerful industrial feudalism and the divine right of monarchy appealed to; but something still more

primitive. We have actual slavery. Chattel slavery, while banished by law from industrial life, is still in existence in our prisons when convicts work without remuneration.

Other and More Subtle Enemies of Democracy

Democracy has other, more subtle, enemies. Take, for instance, Calvinism, which did not regard the state as an important means in itself of spiritual salvation, but only as a policeman by which the behavior of the individual could be made to conform to the standards of religious rulers. The state, as a policeman to carry out the mandates of a theocracy which promises to save the individual who accepts a certain theology, is far from a modern definition of democracy. Take Lutheranism, which quashed the democratic principle halfway to its fulfillment.

Current illustrations of the remoteness of the Church from democracy are to be found in the objection raised today to a discussion in churches of such movements as Woman Suffrage, the Labor Problem, and Prohibition.

Mysticism and the idea of the inner life is a foe to democracy in so far as it urges a withdrawal from action and from contemplation of the outward things of life, in order to find in silence and the secrecy of the soul a mystic illumination from direct contact with God. That God is found only as one withdraws from his

works is as undemocratic as to say that God is found only through a theology protected by a police state.

The sacramental system is also a foe to democracy, when it asserts that there is a natural cleavage between the human and the divine, only to be bridged by an authoritative hierarchy. Under such a definition of life, the family, as well as the ordinary institutions and organizations of life, is condemned.

Realization of Disadvantages Precedes Independence

But it is of this very human stuff—condemned by the dogmatists, fled away from by the mystics, and organized merely for the defense of theology by ultra Protestants, it is of this human life, with the family, with friendship, with business and with art, with law and also with religion—that democracy itself is made. A government is not to be deferred until the governed are perfected to carry on the machinery of the state, but is perfected in its very imperfections when it is permitted by experiment to advance from one step to another of enlightenment and progress. The excellence of democracy is not the superior institution it turns out. The spiritually free and self-governed individual that democracy utilizes and develops, is its chief product and glory.

Inasmuch as all of us have been subjected to one or the other of these religious influences—the influences of Catholicism or Protestantism or Mysticism—we are to that extent born foes of democracy. If, therefore, we carry over what we have learned from religion into our economic attitude toward working-men, it is not at all surprising. The sooner we realize the disadvantage of our religious education—the cowardice of its view of human nature, the inferiority of its conception of God and of his workings, the essential unbrotherliness of its premises—the sooner are we likely to correct the individualistic American position. Then, too, we shall be in a mood to welcome the efforts of the great masses for their own industrial and social independence. We shall gladly assist them not only to secure justice but the fullest self-expression and the development of latent gifts which can carry great benefits to their fellows, gifts that await the encouragement of better pay, better health, and more leisure.

These Lower Institutions Are the Foes of Democracy

The trouble with democracy, then, in America is that it has been seized upon by a number of lower evolutionary social institutions which are worrying its life and are quite capable of destroying its life, if there is not an infusion into

democratic blood of a more truly democratic spirit. I make no doubt, nor would I waste arguments in proving, that democracy is a higher evolutionary form of government than the tribe, the clan, feudalism, monarchy, or theocracy. But it can only proceed upon its way by killing these inferior forms that gnaw upon its intestines. Democracy must become more the thing it claims to be. The profoundest psychology of today is almost based upon the emancipation of the individual from parental domination; upon revolt from authority; upon the perception of a law of being and free obedience.

The Cure for This Political Disease Is More Democracy

The cure for this disease, this cancer of democracy, is more democracy; more vital life-blood for the organism itself. Disease in the human body is discovered to be due to the presence of germs. Laboratories have photographed a good many of these germs, and have studied them with care. They turn out to be living things which once had a certain right to their lives, but which higher organisms successfully passed in the struggle for existence. These minute and early forms of life now attach themselves as parasites to the higher organisms, which, devitalized or weakened by accident, by labor, by anxiety, by luxury, become a prey to

the attacks of that which as a form of life is infinitely inferior to itself.

There are two cures for disease: to kill the germ directly or to make the body upon which the germ has fastened so freshly strong that it throws off or destroys by its own operation the perilous foe living upon it. This latter should be democracy's cure. The true elements of its ideal must make it so freshly strong that it sloughs off these earlier forms of political and social life which are inferior to it, but which flourishing within it, if permitted to have their way, will be the destruction of the later and higher embodiments of the hopes of humanity.

We discover, then, that the United States of America, a constitutional democracy, is preyed upon by rudimentary social organisms, survivals of all the primitive institutions of human society. They are perceived in our midst not as archæological exhibits but as powerful and militant bodies which fight to secure privileges and position by methods of intrigue and iniquity, regardless of the ideals and the methods of a republic.

The cure for all these rudimentary survivals within our democracy of past political forms—the gang, the clan, feudalism, theocracy, aristocracy—is to have more democracy. The machine politician utilizes all these undemocratic forces; if successful he rewards his helpers at the public expense, who thereby fasten themselves more deeply into the body politic. They have a right

to get on in America, but not at the expense of the life-blood of the state.

The Contribution of the Jew

The possibility of this infusion of a truer and full-blooded democracy into the spectral throne upon which since the Declaration of Independence we have been trying to live, seems likely to be helped forward very materially by that race which has come to us in large numbers of late, the Hebrew. It is a significant fact that the Hebrews in New York during the last ten years have, generally speaking, cast their votes and voices in favor of the reform movements. The Hebrew people have small sense of leadership. This is a piece of good fortune. If they had a sense of leadership, they would join the clan, or the hurrah for the feudal lord, or kiss the hand of theocracy. Some of them, as it is, have aligned themselves with powerful organizations. But the ancientness of Hebrew civilization, the very antiquity of their political life, has carried the race as a whole beyond political organization.

They represent a moral rather than a military national ideal; principles are dearer to them than military or political force. Their career has made them individualistic. They occupy an intellectual censorship far higher than either the boss or the baron has ever dreamed, and it is this coming of the intellectuals, professional, and

brainy folk, who do not hark back to out-worn social forms but forward to match their ideas with new forms, that promises so much to American politics. I expect to see the Jew almost the savior of American ideas. He will take them out of the theoretical stage—where a good citizen is presented with liberty and at the same time is smothered under conditions which prevent its expression and enjoyment,—he will fashion democratic institutions so that their liberties may be enjoyed by all.

The grand method of democracy is to draw wider and wider circles of inclusiveness. When a democracy is unable to draw a new circle by its sympathy with enlarging human needs, its day is done; the momentum which originated it has failed. Not to shut out or lock up those who criticize it from within its own body, but to expand its institutions by the spirit of larger justice until they embrace the wills and affections of those who thought themselves left out—is its way.

Nor is this method sentimental or academic. It has been practically the method of English political development from the earliest time. An American is astonished to learn that during a large part of the middle ages the government of London and the great English boroughs—the pattern of our own city government—included the industrial worker with all his problems and complaints. He was first a member of a guild before he could become a citizen. What is more surprising, the

London aldermen, for a considerable period, were the masters of guilds—almost what we should call labor leaders—at any rate, head of unions of craftsmen. In this way medieval England attempted to continue for its artisans a status and an influence in public affairs.

The Variety in Democracy Must Be Directed

If the production of variety is Nature's effort, as shown, for instance, in the value of two sexes over one sex, in the results of selection and environment, then democracy is an enormous instrument in Nature's hand, for it produces a greater variety than any other form of government. Further, it can be said as applying to the United States, that a democracy built up of "sovereign states" affords a greater means of securing variety than a solitary state with only one important legislative body.

But the object of variety is not satisfied in itself. Nature is not trying merely to produce as many different sorts of a thing as possible. Nature is creating variety in order that the best may be saved as seed, to produce the future. Democracy must not be satisfied when it produces the greatest number of different individuals or of institutions. Democracy must fix its gains, it must select and perpetuate the best type of its individuals and of its experimental institutions, tried out in dozens of States.

The Means—the Federal Legislature

The Federal legislature in a large way must be the instrument of this progressive policy. If we want to know at what point progress can be discovered in the moment of birth, it should be mainly expected in Congress, which selects the most successful of the various State experiments, and establishes it as the law of the land. Consequently, the Constitution, or its interpretation, must expand to meet this legislative progress, if the enormous advantage of forty-eight experimental stations in politics, and the incredible advantage of 110,000,000 individual American experimenters are to be coined into concrete institutional improvement.

"He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator. And if time, of course, alters things to the worse, and wisdom and council shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end?" *

* Lord Bacon's "History of Life and Death."

XIV

WHAT THE WORKING-MEN WANT—INDUSTRIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

"Thou Trade! thou king of the modern days!
Change thy ways,
Change thy ways;
Let the sweaty laborers file
A little while,
A little while,
Where Art and Nature sing and smile."

SIDNEY LANIER,
The Symphony.

"I submit that the working class have as much right as any section or class in the community to enjoy all the advantages of science, art and literature. No field of knowledge, no outlook in life should be closed against the workers. They should demand their share in the effulgence of life and all that was created for the enjoyment of mankind.

". . . the working class must be free, not only economically but intellectually."

J. LARKIN,
quoted by WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING, in
The Socialism of Today, p. 306.

"The natural impulse of every social body is to harmonize the various forces of which it is composed. All strife or dissonance between these forces is an indication of disease.

"Every revolution is an attempt to co-ordinate the springs of social progress, an attempt to obtain recognition for an hitherto neglected element, and to procure for that element its rightful place in the constitution of the power that governs the national edifice."

MAZZINI,
Life and Writings, Vol. I, pp. 156, 157.

CHAPTER XIV

WHAT THE WORKING-MEN WANT—INDUSTRIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

IN the United States the lines are becoming more closely drawn between individualism and socialism; the fears of capital are more evident; the convictions of socialists, in spite of party differences, more confident. Several money-eyed organizations, as well as weighty personalities, have entered the field openly or secretly against socialism. Eminent ecclesiastics have organized a militant anti-socialistic union. Rumors are now heard that fearing the progress of socialism as a result of international disorder the Church of Rome and financial interests are working together for a speedy peace.

Is a Fight in America Against Socialism Wise?

Is not this marshaling of forces hasty and injudicious? Does a lining up of capitalists against socialists show a sufficient understanding of socialism and of democracy? Millionaires who band together to fight socialism certainly do not appear to appreciate their own power. What-

ever socialism is, socialists are, for the most part, unsuccessful folk or they are dreamers and philanthropists—people with a lot of imagination, pity, and liking for mankind. Wealth is so powerful that, if it consulted its own dignity, it would neglect such critics. Through the control of the institutional side of life, it can silence their voices when it will, and so can afford to listen long to discover if they speak truth or falsehood.

> "The eagle suffers little birds to sing,
> And is not careful what they mean thereby,
> Knowing that with the shadow of his wing
> He can at pleasure stint their melody."

An appeal of our times—not drawn from the field of ethics, but from the hunting field, or wherever chance and danger may be faced for the sheer sake of audacious combat—is, "Be a Sport!" What a large opportunity lies open to the sportsman in social controversy! Sympathetic attention paid the poor man's view of life by rich men, would be the "sportiest" of propositions. Their generosity towards the weak, their confidence in reason and justice, their support of free discussion, their wager of power and wealth upon the result—in short, their courage would excite our admiration. Years of training in college athletics and expensive sports, on sea and land, seem fruitless, if the sportsman when confronted by human problems is panic-stricken and

denies his opponent a chance; but silences him, starves him, sandbags him.

Socialism Is at Least Genuine

Socialism, however erroneous, is a serious and enthusiastic attempt to solve pressing economic problems. The "Labor Question" Sydney Brooks calls one of "insoluble conundrums." Let us Yankees try to "guess" it. Our attack therefore, had better be made upon the problem itself or upon those who are indifferent to it. Mr. Taft is wrong. Socialism is not our greatest problem. The economic conditions that excite socialists and many anti-socialists are our greatest problem—namely: the anomaly of a democratic state and an absolutist industrial system living together.

Conspicuous opposition to socialism contributes to the very method by which socialism claims it will triumph. Extreme socialists exult at every fresh demarcation between them and their adversaries. By making more clean-cut their differences, and by forcing into opposing ranks socialists and non-socialists, the *"class struggle"* is accentuated and promoted, which the followers of Marx prophesy will produce the disruption of society—"the social revolution"—and clear the way for a socialistic state.

Socialism Is not Vandalism

Socialists whom I know do not itch to lay hands upon other people's property or to reduce everybody to a dead level of pay. They want what most men want—working and living conditions favorable to good health. They also want opportunities for their children and they want leisure for the enjoyment of nature, music, and art. Our problem, then, is not how to fight an "ism"—"socialism"—but how to arrange matters so as to give poor men and women more of what we all hunger for—the joy of life.

The socialists whom I hear are mild in their demands. They wish to be sure of work, and they hope for such an organization of industry in the future that their children may be sure of work. They do not ask to be supported by anybody's labor except their own, or to have their children supported by anybody's labor except *their* own.

The new order of things, if it come, will not be directly produced by socialists, but by their foes. "Class struggle," "surplus values," "the economic interpretation of history"—Marxian formulas that express half-truths—are not the open sesame to a lovelier industrial future. So, in fighting socialism, the conservative classes are facing in the wrong direction. Their enemies are of their own household. Current legislation indicates the lines of future advances—what might

be called the liquidation of privilege. Public Service Commissions, Rates Commissions, Corporation Tax Laws, Income Taxes, and not socialistic platforms, will, for a long time to come, be responsible for our economic reforms. Notice the list of Federal Commissions that a few years ago would have been thought socialistic: Civil Service Commission, Eight-Hour Day Commission, Federal Reserve Board, Federal Trade Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, National Forest Reservation Commission, United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation, Federal Farm Loan Board.

Socialists when they deal with political programs ask, in their simplicity, for such extreme and revolutionary changes that they frighten the average citizen, whether capitalist or wage-earner, and for this reason they cannot soon secure an overwhelming following. They are firing at a target so far away that they do not hit it. But while socialists are absorbed in this harmless game of long-distance and ineffective firing, our statesmen of practical sagacity and popular instinct may, by close range and effective shots, weaken monopoly and privilege.

Public Regulation, not Socialism, Will Limit Capital

For instance, the limitation and even the public ownership of capital are not likely to be af-

fected by socialism, but by public regulation of monopoly. When the highest profits are at last secured by trusts and pools, which practically destroy competition, the next move of the consumer will be to control by law the rates and prices of such combinations of capital. But publicly *controlled* capital will have a tendency to become publicly *owned,* because investors, afraid of an increased public control of property, with a consequent reduction of profits, will not buy the securities. This tendency is already seen in some public utilities.

Socialism Protests the Individual's Helplessness

Again, the industrial battle today is not between socialism and individualism, as recent prospectuses announce. Socialism is a new form of individualism, which offers what Jeffersonianism supposed it gave when most Americans were farmers—an equal chance to individuals. Socialists wish to make the government an umpire who will see that every one has a fair chance; only, to prevent the umpire from being biased by evil influences, socialists propose to make the umpire more powerful than the influences.

The one point to which the socialistic criticism of the present industrial régime continually returns is that of the wage-earner's industrial helplessness—now that he must secure the con-

sent of the owner of machinery and of tools before he can have work or wages. The wage-earner is called " a proletarian," "a child of the abyss," "a wage-slave." The socialistic outcry is largely the human insistence upon *individual* importance and *individual* value in the face of this modern industrial helplessness. It demands more than a trade-union or an industrial union behind the individual; it demands the whole organization of the state behind the individual.

Why Drive Sympathizers into Further Revolt?

Many religious persons call themselves socialists because they believe that gross misery, ignorance, and injustice exist which can readily be remedied. These persons are not theoretical socialists, not Marxians, but keen well-wishers of humanity, who are convinced that life needs to be rationalized and who are warmed by the intensity, comradeship, and hopefulness of the socialist propaganda. If there were a thoroughgoing fight made against socialism, these persons would be liable to join the socialist party.

Many writers and professional men confess to each other that they are socialists at heart. Would it be wise to drive them to the necessity of absolute definition?

Many clerks, financial managers, even business men who have made their money in slow and conservative fashion, are more sympathetic with the

complaints and cures of socialism than trust magnates and high financiers imagine. Ought they, by a still greater sympathy with the "under dog," to be turned over bodily to the socialist party?

Then there are the thousands of intellectual young men, college graduates, observant, traveled, kept out of pulpits by distrusted creeds, whom we ought not to throw into further revolt. They contemplate our social wilderness with as much confident strength as a pioneer contemplated the forests that were to yield a place for his home and fields of corn. These young men can live on little; they despise social ambition; they cannot be frightend, and they ransack the world for sociological facts. You meet them at the settlement-houses, upon philanthropic committees, at your State capitol opposing bills injurious to the workers, in meetings where speakers say what they think, often in missions and parish-houses where there is practical work being done for the poor. These youths seem always to be singing Whitman's hymn:

Have the elder races halted?
Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied over there beyond the seas?
We take up the task eternal, and the burden and the lesson—
Pioneers, O Pioneers!

Now this marching song of democracy is echoed by a vast antiphonal in China and in Russia. The

elder races have rushed forward; it is the new world that halts.

Disloyalty and Ingratitude Are Today the Characteristics of the Working-classes as Experienced by Their Employers.

The newspaper-reading public and conservative business men, when confronted by the labor problem, are often confused by the behavior of working-men toward employers famous for their kindness. During the Pullman strike it was hard for the public to understand how the employees of the company could be so hostile and could commit acts of violence. Had not Mr. Pullman given them an ideal town to live in, all at his own expense?

A like wonderment beheld the strike of the National Cash Register employees, at Dayton, Ohio, where John H. Patterson and his associates had done everything they could think of to make the inside and the outside of their factories attractive, and to brighten and enrich the lives of their employees; where the employers were as proud of their services to their employees and to the community as they were proud of their business success—employers who almost broke their hearts over the ingratitude of their work-people.

Similar cases are so numerous that J. Thayer Lincoln, a distinguished graduate of Harvard, a sympathizer with working-men, whom he knows,

both as a manufacturer and as a philanthropist, makes this deliberate statement,—"In my personal experience, the man who is most thoroughly hated by his employees is the man who has the physical, mental, and spiritual welfare of his working-men most at heart." *

The working-man is certainly ungrateful, and ingratitude is that fault in the poor which philanthropists can least endure. Among amateur religious and philanthropic workers there is a constant secession, due to their disgust at the lack of gratitude shown by their beneficiaries.

Gratitude is not a test of beneficence and ought not to be expected. It puts the giver upon a pedestal and the recipient upon his knees. Even great natures do not easily discover gratitude among their virtues. Goethe found gratitude so difficult that, when he was a young man, he cultivated it by special exercise. Seated in his room, he recalled to mind the friends and relatives who had given him the objects his eyes beheld, and thereupon he mentally thanked them. Dr. Samuel Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds became friends over the discovery of their mutual antipathy to gratitude. In a house where they were both calling and met for the first time, a lady of the company continually bemoaned the death of a friend. "At any rate, madam," broke in Sir Joshua, "you have been relieved of a burden of

* "The City of the Dinner Pail," p. 78.

gratitude." It was this astute reading of human nature by the painter that won Dr. Johnson. They walked away from the house together.

Ingratitude is as common among the needy as among self-respecting working-men. A common explanation fits both cases: More than two thousand years ago Aristotle read the philanthropist's riddle when he pointed out that gratitude is less keen than benevolence, because it is more agreeable to give than to receive. The benefactor enjoys himself more than the beneficiary.*

Workers Want Better Wages, not Uplift

But a more economic and personal explanation of the working-man's ingratitude can be found. The working-man's great complaint today is his helplessness, and it is perfectly clear that whatever increases this sense of helplessness will really increase his outcry. Working-men don't like to have things done for them. The more that is done for them, the more they feel in the power of the person who is responsible even for their benefits.

Paradoxically enough, whatever the man of power, the capitalist, the employer, does out of a good heart or philanthropic intent or even from shrewd business perception, to alleviate, as he

* "Ethics," Bk. IX, Ch. VII.

supposes, the hardships of his working-people—by good tenements, by kindergartens, by factory lunch-rooms, by lectures, garden villages, etc., etc., etc.—he is, as a matter of fact, making his working-men feel their dependence, with the result that some of the most serious explosions of indignation have taken place amid the fairest environment that can surround the conditions of toil.

There is another reason for the working-man's ingratitude to his employer. Working-men say that if corporations can afford these extras, these adornments and additions to the comfort of their people, then they can afford to give better wages. Of the two methods of distributing a surplus, the working-man prefers the latter. He would rather take his chances in an ordinary factory with higher pay and use the addition to his income as he pleases.

In other words, the working-man realizes, or, at any rate, asserts, that he himself is paying for the improved tenements, for the parks, for the libraries, for the comforts and conveniences of the superior factories, for kindergartens, for lessons in cooking, for lectures, for flower-gardens, for flower-boxes outside the windows, for baths, etc. While he is meeting the cost of these advantages, he finds the world at large praising his employer as a notable philanthropist, and in his heart he regards this as a sham. At all events he would rather be his own philanthropist.

The industrial system that depends, in the last resort, upon gratitude, is a psychological mistake. Something more dependable than gratitude should prevent strikes and preserve intact industrial organization. The bond in economic life that holds employer and employee cannot be a weak and wingèd virtue; it must be something reliable and strong. Gratitude cannot be the cement between classes in a democracy.

The Working-man, Whether He Has Reasons for Gratitude or not, Is Certainly not Loyal to His Employers.

"Take any of our great and successful establishments (says the *American Foundryman*) and get into touch with the management, and you will find the universal complaint of the disloyalty of the men. See the men, on the other hand, and you will find the irritation due to the arbitrary and unjust treatment, the existence of conditions repugnant to an independent spirit, etc. One need not then wonder why oftentimes the percentage of changes in the shop organization amounts to over one hundred per cent. annually. How much greater would have been the success of the business pecuniarily, as well as the prosperity of the community, had more attention been given to the feelings of the actual wage-earner." *

Many employers do not know how to be employers. They may know a trade or a business;

* Transactions of the American Foundryman's Association, p. 197.

they may have saved money or get credit; but they do not understand business administration. Capital and craftsmanship do not make a captain of industry. Business administration is an art in itself; if it were more generally understood by employers, there would be less labor trouble.

Loyalty is an old, clan spirit, and attached a man to a man of his own blood who was his chieftain; it attached the subject to a king as to a God-given leader and protector. Industrial conditions do not reproduce this relationship. The employer and employee do not acknowledge identity of interest. They treat each other, on the whole, as enemies. Labor is regarded as a "commodity" to be purchased by capital. How can you expect loyalty from a commodity?

The Way Out—Self-Government in Industry

If one listens for any length of time to working-men discussing these matters he discovers that the way out of the difficulty is not an "insoluble conundrum," but a simple and logical step. It is nothing less than an application of self-government to industry,—the utilization of the spirit of independence.

Democracy, in its principle, accords with the modern conception of divine activity, which is a working from within, not from without. The old idea of God as sovereign, sitting outside of crea-

tion and ruling it, furnished a prototype for the divine authority of kings; in fact, for all arbitrary power. The idea of a god inside the universe, ruling through the laws of nature, the modern position, is the prototype for self-government. This centrifugal force is the method of democracy—it issues from within the ranks of people and not from a privileged position outside.

When an industrial magnate claims to run his enterprises by "divine right," he is logical, for our industrialism is still under absolutism and has not passed into the democratic or self-governing stage. In religion and in politics we have largely turned to a theory, and to some extent to a practice, where sovereignty operates from within rather than from without. Can it be more than a matter of time when this philosophy and practice shall govern industry?

Our best educators have given up the effort to secure discipline by the exercise of authority from above, and are attempting to produce a maturer attitude toward conduct on the part of their pupils, by leaving discipline more in the hands of the students themselves. They have met with most encouraging results, and student committees manage the morals of universities.

Thirty years ago the participation by "Harvard men" in the Republican Presidential Torch-Light Procession through the streets of Boston

was something of an orgy, ending in a fight. I saw the Taft procession. It was like an Anniversary Day parade of the Brooklyn Sunday Schools. I was so astonished that I inquired the reason. The whole matter, it seems, had been taken up by the class presidents,—students,—who put the men on their honor, with the sober and well-behaved results I beheld. If self-government among young, hot-blooded students can do that, it can do anything.

Illustrations of the successful working of the principle of self-government in unexpected directions are becoming very numerous. The Self-Governing Committee under its high-minded and able chairman, Richard Welling, has extended the method of self-government to the discipline of scores of public schools and is in communication with hundreds of schools throughout the country desiring this method of dealing with school discipline.

"Pupil co-operation in the management of various vocational activities, as practiced in the Gary schools," says Mr. Welling, "must also tend to breed that community spirit from which some day we may hope to see a wise and sane collectivism in the state." *

At Gary there is a student council through which school decisions and matters of discipline are registered. The Mutual Welfare League of

* Proceedings of the National Education Association, Oakland, Cal., August, 1915, p. 110.

Sing Sing Prison, founded by Thomas Mott Osborne, has had a history that will confirm in the future self-government as the highest method of prison discipline, if prison is looked at as a place no longer merely for punishment, but for personal regeneration. Even in India, the poet Tagore has founded a school with a self-governing system based on the George Junior Republic.

The George Junior Republic, and similar schemes, undertake to train young hoodlums in citizenship, by giving them in a mimic state the responsibilities of citizens. Self-government, we are having to acknowledge, is being more and more regarded not as a begrudged concession, but as a moral necessity.

The extension of self-government to industry is logical when we remember that the relation of a workman to his work is a moral question and depends upon his honesty, honor, and self-respect. A workman who makes bad product, or injures product, or who turns out less than he is capable of, cannot enjoy complete self-respect. A system that corrects his disloyalty will add to his manhood as well as to the profits of the business.

Trade-Unionism No Solution

The working-man has secured a measure of industrial self-government through trade-unionism, which lifts him from the position of abject

dependence upon the will of his employer and makes collective bargains on a higher level of consideration and mutual contract than he could make alone. By being a member of a trade-union a working-man has something to say about the business with which he is connected. In fact, he has a great deal to say about the way in which the business must treat him. And this participation helps to satisfy a workman's native independence, as well as his love of having a say in that which orders his life. But trade-unionism cannot solve the Labor Question; for if it were to go to the limit of complete organization we should have this picture: On one hand, organized capital; on the other hand, organized labor—the two related to each other by trade agreements or contracts. Can an industrial system be final in a democracy which separates citizens, who are supposed to be equal before the law and at the polls, into two opposing industrial camps?

The enlightened effort of the United States Steel Company to have its employees buy its stock, and so share in its fortunes, is notable and points in the right direction. Profit-sharing as an industrial cement would seem to be stronger at any rate than gratitude; but it cannot take the place of industrial self-government or finally be a substitute for denied unionism.

THERE ARE INDICATIONS OF FURTHER PARTICIPATION BY THE WORKING-PEOPLE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN WHICH THEY ARE EMPLOYED.

"In my reorganizing work in factories (says the industrial engineer, H. F. J. Porter), I have found that where there is a tendency to centralize power in a one-man régime the growth of the enterprise is narrowed to just the scope of that one's capabilities. Whereas, if every individual in the organization is given the opportunity and the privilege to express his views and his reasons for them in matters regarding which they may be of value; if whatever there is good in that presented is accepted for what it is worth, then at once the management is reinforced by the potential knowledge possessed by the brains of the whole."

The advantages of democracy are not to be looked for only in those ends that it, in common with all government, expects, such as safety and justice; or even in those results in which democracy may be richer, such as freedom, self-respect, and opportunity. The advantages of democracy are to be found in its method of operation, whereby the citizen, having to assist in the process of government, develops qualities of statesmanship—judgment, foresight, patience, honesty, sympathy—and must, consequently, become a more highly organized and experienced personality with a more profound social consciousness than the average subject of a king.

A citizen in a republic not only receives a

training by the exercise of his franchise that adds to his value and fits him to be of more account in an industrial organization, but the further development of the traits he has educated at the ballot awaits his industrial independence, and, consequently, this independence is something he will, in self-defense, more and more demand.

Lyman Abbott claims, with good reason, "that when the world learned it could have a state without a king and a church without a bishop, it had taken a long step towards learning that there could be a shop without a boss."

I know of factories where a democratic cooperation is secured by forming a shop conference committee made up of the superintendent and overseers, who constitute an Upper House, and of representatives from each department, who constitute a Lower House. Another plan that works well and gives a sense of justice is to pay employees for suggestions that are found useful and not to "fire" them for troublesome complaints.

"Towering over President and State Governors," says James Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," "over Congress and State Legislatures, over conventions and the vast machinery of party, public opinion stands out in the United States as the source of power."

Public opinion has been an important factor in settling strikes and lockouts, where a passive

and suffering public gave a verdict for one side or the other which had weight with the disputants. But what a range there is for public opinion within the body of workers! How dominating an influence under a democratic organization of industry! Suppose there were standards of conduct, workmanship and business dealings, of a broader nature than trade-union rules, which working-men held each other up to. Even now, "a Union card is a guarantee of workmanship," because the unions contain on the whole the best workers in a given trade. This field—that of public opinion applied to industrial life from the inside—remains yet to be capitalized.

Industrial Helplessness Confronts Political Independence

The feeling of industrial helplessness, which is the incubus upon the spirit of the working-man, is contemporaneous with the teachings of independence which proceed from democratic institutions and from modern science with its weakening of traditional authority.

Others besides the workers see their helplessness. The Hon. John Bigelow, whose great age, adorned with public services, spanned most of our national existence, wrote, in 1908, to the Governor of New York:

"With food enough in the United States to nourish twice its population, the average wage-earner can lay

up nothing, can provide few privileges, and practically no recreation."

How different were the hopes of our young Republic from what has come to pass! The expectations of the visionaries of the first half-century were well set forth by William Ellery Channing, in his lecture on "Self-Culture," delivered in Boston in 1838. "The grand distinction of the times is the emerging of the people from brutal degradation, the gradual recognition of their rights, the gradual diffusion among them of the means of improvement and happiness. the creation of a new power in the state—the power of the people."

Mr. Roosevelt, addressing the Alumni of Harvard College, at Cambridge, in June, 1910, confessed that our democracy had not met the expectation of its well-wishers. "I found everywhere (in Europe) a certain disheartened sense that we had not come up to our ideals as there was ground for believing that we ought to have come; that we had not achieved them as we ought to have achieved them; and every instance of corruption, of demagogy, of the unjust abuse of wealth, the unjust use of wealth to the detriment of the public, or the improper acceptance by the public that mere wealth in and of itself constituted a claim to regard in the community, every instance of brutal materialism on our part, every time that it was made evident that the at-

titude of this country was such as ought not to be the attitude of a democracy founded on the principles upon which ours was founded—every such instance served to dim the ideal that the name America conjured up in the minds of those in foreign lands."

Democracy Getting Its Second Wind

A great deal of what we call socialism is only democracy getting its second wind. Disappointment at the results of political democracy was inevitable. The modern experiment of popular government, it must be remembered, has been contemporaneous with revolutionary discoveries and inventions, associated with steam and electricity, which, by making it possible for a single engine to run thousands of machines, have encouraged concentration of capital and of labor. The kit of tools of the old-fashioned workman is now a curiosity; our skilled workmen are dependent upon access to machinery owned capitalistically. Political independence and industrial dependence cannot live permanently together. The same man cannot represent both without complaint and confusion. The same country cannot contain both without disrupting ebullitions.*

Wonderful things have happened in our time even before the war. Belief was gaining ground that destitution could be abolished, and

* Consult Chapter II.

that this Utopia awaits only a richer justice; that if men will be more brotherly the old earth will be nearer heaven.* This new religion took possession of millions, some of whom called themselves atheists. The working-people of many lands were reaching an understanding among themselves and were banded together in an optimism of outlook, a joyousness of spirit and a self-sacrificing compact, such as in the past have only illuminated periods of religious exaltation. The lowly man no longer felt lonely. The doubter no longer was worried by dogma. Within life itself were found fertile grounds of faith, unfamiliar but far-reaching fellowship. The world was never so friendly an abode for the human spirit as just before the war. The Hebrew on the eve of the Messianic coming; the Southern slave on the threshold of emancipation; the crusader in sight of the Holy Sepulchre—must have had the exultant expectations, the "thrills," as we say, that a glimpse of industrial brotherhood was giving millions of wage-earners. This elation of a new human enthusiasm the war cruelly checked, but has not destroyed. Liberated from a flood of war hatred, freed from the suppression of autocracy, it is rising anew into a purified democratic ideal,—a clearer demand for industrial brotherhood which shall be world-wide.

"Released from monastic and oppressive regulation, from the hurt of body and imprisonment

* See J. H. Hollander, "Abolition of Poverty," 1914.

of mind, the people of the Renaissance," says Professor Rudolf Eucken, "burst forth into freedom of classical speculation and gained cheer, enthusiasm, power."

Why have our masses not the joy and enthusiasms of the people of the Renaissance? Modern life has come into new freedom and self-confidence—the liberation of science and wealth—but only partially distributed. The freedom and the exhilaration that the working-people of the Renaissance enjoyed, helped by the guilds and a more homogeneous economic system, our working-people have missed through industrial helplessness. They have been confused and depressed by a citizenship which disappointed their hopes and did not in reality bestow the lost industrial status. This is a serious loss, not only because a great epoch has dawned upon a divided civilization—one practically engaged in civil war—but because the majority of the people, by reason of their industrial helplessness, are not in a position to join the privileged few in using the modern enlightenment for the good of all, in greater discoveries, arts, letters, and relationships. We are all losers if we permit any class to lack freedom and self-confidence. We are only completely gainers, by the special enfranchisements of our time, when all classes work together for discovery, for increase of wealth, for the spread of material benefits, and for the highest individual and social development.

APPENDIX

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ECONOMIC WASTE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

EXTENT OF OUR ECONOMIC WASTE

1. WASTE THROUGH CARELESSNESS AND IGNORANCE

Natural Resources

Soil erosion $50,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.

Floods and freshets 238,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.

Non-use of water power 600,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.

Poor Method

Lumbering, waste of by-product 300,000,000
Agricultural Department, Bureau of Chemistry, quoted from N. Y. Globe, 2-28-13.

Mining, waste of by-product 55,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.

Poor Method (Cont.)	
Fuel	$774,000
Reginald Pelham Bolton, Pres. Amer. Soc. Heating and Ventilating Engineers, quoted from N. Y. Evening Post, 1-23-12.	
Fire losses	235,000,000
Cost of insurance	250,000,000
Fire prevention	450,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912. "City Life," N. Y., 5-11-11.	
Forest fires	50,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.	
In smoke, by poor stoking	600,000,000
H. M. Wilson, chief engineer in one branch of U. S. Geological Survey.	
Gas	45,000,000
Inefficiency in national, state, municipal work	300,000,000
Preventable Diseases of Livestock	93,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.	
Insect and Animal Pests	
Rats	100,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.	
Rodents (exclusive of rats)	110,236,000
N. Y. Times, 6-26-10.	
Insects	420,000,000
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Yearbook (1904). Note: Another estimate is $700,000,000.	
2. Waste through Faulty Economics	
Transportation Losses	
Railroad mismanagement	600,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.	
Transportation accidents	25,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.	
Careless handling of fish, eggs, fruit	40,000,000
Dr. Mary E. Pennington, chemist in U. S. Dept. Bacteriology at Philadelphia. Also Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.	
Decay and loss in transit	1,000,500,000
B. F. Yoakum, of New York, Chairman of Board of Directors, Frisco Lines.	

Labor Maladjustments

Occupational diseases $1,000,000,000
Frederick Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Insurance Co., Newark, N. J.

Industrial accidents 13,000,000
Koester, "Our Stupendous Yearly Waste," World's Work, March, 1912.

Unemployment 3,500,000,000
N. J. Stone.

Strikes and lockouts 1,000,000,000
John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in "Personal Relation in Industry," quoting Frank A. Vanderlip.

Domestic inefficiency 300,000,000
Mrs. Christine Frederick.

3. Social Waste

Personal Extravagance

Cheap shows 60,000,000
"World's Missionary Signs of the Times." "Greater N. Y. Special."

Tobacco 825,000,000
Chart, P. E. Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.

Alcohol 1,600,000,000
William B. Bailey, Ph.D., Asst. Prof. Pol. Econ., Yale. Independent, 3-28-12.

Chewing gum 15,000,000
"World's Missionary Signs of the Times."

Drugs 27,500,000
"World's Missionary Signs of the Times."

Patent medicines 75,476,032
"World's Missionary Signs of the Times."

Soft drinks 107,536,000
"World's Missionary Signs of the Times."

Confectionery 178,000,000

Defective Classes

Backward pupils 26,000,000
Leonard P. Ayres, manager of Russell Sage Foundation's investigation of backward children. "Psychological Clinic," Vol. III, pp. 49-57 (1909-10).

Feeble-minded 85,000,000
Edwin Bjorkman, "The Unnecessary Cost of Sickness," World's Work 18: 1134-43 (July, 1909). Note: The figure here given includes care of insane. Is evidently too small for both.

Insane 135,000,000
Clifford B. Beers, Sec'y Nat'l Com. for Mental Hygiene, quoted from Times 3-15-13.

Disease	
Preventable disease	$1,000,000,000
Committee of One Hundred on National Health.	
Death of children	2,627,300,000
Illiteracy	1,500,000,000
N. J. Stone.	
Homicide and Suicide (about 20,000 at $2,000 each)	40,000,000

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I. J. Econ. 27: 497-519. May, '13.
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Dept. of commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1915.
Expenditures of the poor.
Mrs. W. E. Gallaher, Conf. Char. and Corrections, 1912, 118-21.
Fight for the nation.
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Food from waste products.
Literary Digest 46: 15-6. Jan. 4, 1913.
For a reawakened conservation.
World's Work 25: 246-9. Jan. 2, '13.
Gathering up the fragments.
L. E. Theiss. Outlook 109: 46-9. Jan. 6, '15.
How to get something by giving something up.
S. Strunsky. Cent. 86: 153-4. May, '13.
Metropolitan Life Ins. Co.
Study of sickness in Boston. Lee K. Franklin; Louis N. Dublin.
National Conservation Commission Report, Vol. III.
Govt. Ptg. Office, 1909, Doc. 676, 60th Cong., 2d Sess.
National waste, particularly as related to wants of poor.
Our great national waste.
F. M. Turner, Jr. Conad. M. 46: 1-8, 170-6.
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O. C. Barber. Outlook 104: 613-23, July 19, 1913.
Recoverable values of municipal waste.
Amer. Journal of Public Health, Boston, 1914, V. 4, p. 575-578.
Redistribution of mankind.
H. N. Dickson, Smithsonian Report, 1913. 553-69.
Reducing our waste to eggs.
Scientific American suppl., May, '16. V. 81, p. 292-293.
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Irving Fisher. N. C. C. Vol. 3.
Some of the fruits of necessity.
Sci. Am. 115: 275. Sept. 23, '16.
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Survey 36: 437. July 22, '16.
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W. I. King (1915).
Wealth from wasted gas.
C. Lawrence. Tech. World. 19: 37-8. March, '13.
Wealth from the world's waste.
Bookkeeper, Detroit, 1909. Pol. 22, p. 91-94.
When our resources are gone.
Ind. 74: 555-6. March 13, '13.
Where they won't conserve.
G. F. Stratton. Tech. World. 18: 557-8. Jan, '13.
Whole loaf—or five per cent.
W. V. Woehlke. Sunset 33: 158-9. July, '14.

AN ACT

TO AMEND THE MILITARY LAW, RELATIVE TO MILITARY AND DISCIPLINARY TRAINING.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. Section twenty-seven of chapter forty-one of the laws of nineteen hundred and nine, entitled "An act in relation to the militia, constituting chapter thirty-six of the consolidated laws," as added by chapter five hundred and sixty-six of the laws of nineteen hundred and sixteen, is hereby amended to read as follows:

§ 27. Physical and disciplinary training in schools; military training. (1) The military training commission shall advise and confer with the board of regents of the university of the state of New York as to the courses of instruction in physical training to be prescribed for elementary and secondary schools as provided in the education law.

In order to more thoroughly and comprehensively prepare the boys of the elementary and secondary schools for the duties and obligations of citizenship, it shall also be the duty of the military training commission to recommend from time to time to the board of regents the establishment in such schools, of habits, customs and methods best adapted to develop correct physical posture and bearing, mental and physical alertness, self-control, disciplined initiative, sense of duty and the spirit of co-operation under leadership.

(2) After the first day of September, nineteen hundred and sixteen, all boys above the age of sixteen years and not over the age of nineteen years, except boys exempted by the commission, shall be given such military training as the commission may prescribe for periods aggregating not more than three hours in each week [during the school or college year, in the case of boys who are pupils in public or private schools or colleges, and for periods not exceeding those above stated] between September first of each year and the fifteenth day of June next ensuing [in the case of boys who are not pupils; but any boy who is regularly and lawfully employed in any occupation for a livelihood shall not be required to take such training unless he volunteers and is accepted therefor]. Such training periods, in the case of pupils in [such] schools and colleges, shall be in addition to prescribed periods of

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EXPLANATION—Matter in *italics* is new; Matter in brackets [ ] is old law to be admitted.

other instruction therein and outside the time assigned therefor. Such training shall be conducted under the supervision of the military training commission by such male teachers and physical instructors of schools and colleges as may be assigned by the boards of education or trustees of such schools or governing bodies of such colleges and accepted by the commission, and by officers and enlisted men of the national guard and naval militia detailed for that purpose by the major general commanding the national guard or such officer and enlisted men of the United States army as may be available. The officers and enlisted men of the national guard and naval militia so detailed shall, while in the actual performance of the duties of the detail, receive such percentage of the pay authorized by this chapter for officers and enlisted men of the national guard and naval militia of their respective grades and length of service as may from time to time be fixed by the commission. Teachers and instructors assigned from schools and colleges shall be paid such compensation as the commission may determine out of moneys appropriated for carrying out the provisions of this article.

Such requirement as to military training, herein prescribed, may in the discretion of the commission be met in part by such vocational training or vocational experience as will, in the opinion of the commission, specifically prepare boys of the ages named for service useful to the state, in the maintenance of defense, in the promotion of public safety, in the conservation and development of the state's resources, or in the construction and maintenance of public improvements.

§ 2. This act shall take effect immediately.

REQUIREMENTS OF PHYSICAL TRAINING

For elementary and secondary schools:

1. Physical training A: correlation with school medical inspection, daily class inspection by regular class teacher.
2. Physical training B: a setting-up drill of at least two minutes' duration at the beginning of each class period, or at least four times every school day, directed by regular class teacher.
3. Physical training C: talks on hygiene, two ten-minute or fifteen-minute periods a week, under regular class teacher or a teacher especially assigned to this work (to go into effect Sept., 1917).
4. Physical training D: supervised recreation.
   a. Immediate requirement: (physical training 3 may be substituted) sixty minutes each week, under the regular class teacher, or special teacher, or both.
   b. Recreational requirement, to go into effect not later than Sept., 1917.
      (1) For schools with adequate equipment, a minimum of four hours a week, at least one of which must

be under the direct supervision of the regular school officials; the other three hours may be satisfied by equivalents accepted by the school from the home or community activities of the child.

(2) For schools without adequate equipment for supervised recreation, a minimum of three hours a week will be required, all of which may be covered by equivalents accepted from the home or community activities of the child. This requirement must not be regarded as permanent or satisfactory. All schools should eventually make provision for meeting the requirement as outlined in paragraph

5. Physical training E: gymnastic drills, sixty minutes a week under special teacher of physical training.
   a. Immediate requirement—may substitute the immediate requirement in physical training D (supervised recreation), sixty minutes a week, for this requirement in gymnastic drills.
   b. Requirement to go into effect not later than September, 1917. All schools in which there is adequate space and equipment for gymnastic activities will provide a minimum of sixty minutes each week distributed into at least two periods a week.

ORGANIZATION OF THE I. W. W.

We quote the following from a pamphlet printed by the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau of Cleveland, "The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Methods," by Vincent St. John, who is, at present, general secretary of the organization:

General Outline

1. The unit of organization is the Local Industrial Union. The local industrial union embraces all of the workers of a given industry in a given city, town or district.

2. All local industrial unions of the same industry are combined into a National Industrial Union with jurisdiction over the entire industry.

3. National industrial unions of closely allied industries are combined into Departmental Organizations. For example, all national industrial unions engaged in the production of Food Products and in handling them would be combined into the Department of Food Products. Steam, Air, Water and Land national divisions of the Transportation Industry, form the Transportation Department.

4. The Industrial Departments are combined into the General Organization, which in turn is to be an integral part of a like

International Organization; and through the international organization establish solidarity and co-operation between the workers of all countries.

Subdivisions

Taking into consideration the technical differences that exist within the different departments of the industries, and the needs where large numbers of workers are employed, the local industrial union is branched to meet these requirements.

1. Language branches, so that the workers can conduct the affairs of the organization in the language they are familiar with.
2. Shop branches, so that the workers of each shop control the conditions that directly affect them.
3. Department branches in large industries, to simplify and systematize the business of the organization.
4. District branches, to enable members to attend meetings of the union without having to travel too great a distance. These branches are only necessary in the large cities and big industries where the industry covers large areas.
5. District Councils, in order that every given industrial district shall have complete industrial solidarity among the workers of each industry. The Industrial District Council combines all the local industrial unions of the district. Through it concerted action is maintained for its district.

Functions of Branches

Branches of an industrial local deal with the employer only through the Industrial Union. Thus, while the workers in each branch determine the conditions that directly affect them, they act in concert with all the workers through the industrial union.

As the knowledge of the English language becomes more general, the language branches will disappear.

The development of machine production will also gradually eliminate the branches based on technical knowledge, or skill.

The constant development and concentration of the ownership and control of industry will be met by a like concentration of the number of industrial unions and industrial departments. It is meant that the organization at all times shall conform to the needs of the hour and eventually furnish the union through which and by which the organized workers will be able to determine the amount of food, clothing, shelter, education and amusement necessary to satisfy the wants of the workers.

Administration of the Organization

Local unions have full charge of all their local affairs; elect their own officers; determine their pay; and also the amount of dues collected by the local from the membership. The general

organization, however, does not allow any local to charge over $1.00 per month dues or $5.00 initiation fee.

Each branch of a local industrial union elects a delegate or delegates to the central committee of the local industrial union. This central committee is the administrative body of the local industrial union. Officers of the branches consist of secretary, treasurer, chairman and trustees.

Officers of the local industrial union consist of secretary and treasurer, chairman and trustees.

Each local industrial union within a given district elects a delegate or delegates to the district council. The district council has as officers a secretary-treasurer and trustees. The officers of the district council are elected by the delegates thereof.

All officers in local bodies are elected by referendum vote of all the membership involved, except those of the district council.

Proportional representation does not prevail in the delegation of the branches and to district councils. Each branch and local has the same number of delegates. Each delegate casts one vote.

National industrial unions hold annual conventions. Delegates from each local of the national union cast a vote based upon the membership of the local that they represent.

The national industrial union nominates the candidates for officers at the convention, and the three nominees receiving the highest votes at the convention are sent to all the membership to be voted upon in selecting the officers.

The officers of the national unions consist of secretary and treasurer, and executive board. Each national union elects delegates to the department to which it belongs. The same procedure is followed in electing delegates as in electing officers.

Industrial departments hold conventions and nominate the delegates that are elected to the general convention. Delegates to the general convention nominate candidates for the offices of the general organization which are a General Secretary-Treasurer, and a General Organizer. These general officers are elected by the vote of the entire organization.

The General Executive Board is composed of one member from each Industrial Department and is selected by the membership of the department.

General conventions are held annually at present.

The rule in determining the wages of the officers of all parts of the organization is, to pay the officers who are needed approximately the same wages they would receive when employed in the industry in which they work. The wages of the general secretary and the general organizer are each $90.00 per month.

LABOR LAWS IN WAR TIME

Number 1—Special Bulletin—April, 1917

The American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 East 23rd Street, New York City

CONSERVE OUR INDUSTRIAL ARMY

Production Must Be Increased

With the beginning of war, the problem of national effectiveness looms big. Preparedness efforts are redoubled. Indications already appear that Men may be sacrificed to Materials in the erroneous belief that unrestricted endeavor increases output. There is danger that over-zeal may lead to the breaking down of protective standards and hence of the health and unproductiveness of labor. Great Britain made this mistake at the outset of war; but has recognized what it means, and has set about re-establishing proper standards. If conservation of the working population is sound policy to meet the demands of peace, then it is an imperative duty in meeting the acute strain of war.

On March 23, 1917, the Executive Committee of the Association for Labor Legislation issued a public announcement of its attitude toward standards of legal protection for workers in time of war. This statement is embodied in the following resolution:

Whereas, The entrance of the United States into the World War appears imminent; and

Whereas, Other countries upon engaging in the conflict permitted a serious breakdown of protective labor regulations with the result, as shown by recent official investigations, of early and unmistakable loss of health, output and national effectiveness; and

Whereas, Our own experience has already demonstrated that accidents increase with speeding up and the employment of new workers unaccustomed to their tasks, that over-fatigue defeats the object aimed at in lengthening working hours, and that new occupational poisoning has accompanied the recent development of munition manufacture; and

Whereas, The full strength of our nation is needed as never before and we cannot afford to suffer loss of labor power through accidents, disease, industrial poisoning and over-fatigue; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Association for Labor Legislation, at this critical time, in order to promote the success of our country in war as well as in peace, would sound a warning against the shortsightedness and laxness at first exemplified abroad in these matters, and would urge all public-spirited citizens to co-operate in maintaining, for the protection of those who serve in this time

of stress the industries of the nation, (who as experience abroad has shown are quite as important to military success as the fighting forces), the following essential minimum requirements:

I. Safety

1. Maintenance of all existing standards of safeguarding machinery and industrial processes for the prevention of accidents.

II. Sanitation

1. Maintenance of all existing measures for the prevention of occupational diseases.
2. Immediate agreement upon practicable methods for the prevention of special occupational poisonings incident to making and handling explosives.

III. Hours

1. Three-shift system in continuous industries.
2. In non-continuous industries, maintenance of existing standard working day as basic.
3. One day's rest in seven for all workers.

IV. Wages

1. Equal pay for equal work, without discrimination as to sex.
2. Maintenance of existing wage rates for basic working day.
3. Time and one-half for all hours beyond basic working day.
4. Wage rates to be periodically revised to correspond with variations in the cost of living.

V. Child Labor

1. Maintenance of all existing special regulations regarding child labor, including minimum wages, maximum hours, prohibition of night work, prohibited employment, and employment certificates.
2. Determination of specially hazardous employments to be forbidden to children under sixteen.

VI. Woman's Work

1. Maintenance of existing special regulations regarding woman's work, including maximum hours, prohibition of night work, prohibited hazardous employments, and prohibited employment immediately before and after childbirth.

VII. Social Insurance

1. Maintenance of existing standards of workmen's compensation for industrial accidents and diseases.
2. Extension of workmen's compensation laws to embrace occupational diseases, especially those particularly incident to the manufacture and handling of explosives.

3. Immediate investigation of the sickness problem among the workers to ascertain the advisability of establishing universal workmen's health insurance.

VIII. Labor Market

1. Extension of existing systems of public employment bureaus to aid in the intelligent distribution of labor throughout the country.

IX. Administration of Labor Laws

1. Increased appropriations for enlarged staffs of inspectors to enforce labor legislation.
2. Representation of employees, employers, and the public on joint councils for co-operating with the labor departments in drafting and enforcing necessary regulations to put the foregoing principles into full effect.

GREAT BRITAIN'S EXPERIENCE

Damaging Effect of Relaxed Standards

England has found that national strength in war requires the rigid maintenance of protective standards for those who serve in the industries.

When the war began, working hours were lengthened in the munition factories of Great Britain, and the legal restrictions on women's hours were relaxed. This was done on the false supposition that production would be increased.

Then followed complaints of lost time and failure to maintain output, and of the "sweating" of workers. This situation led to the appointment by the Minister of Munitions of a Health of Munition Workers Committee "to consider and advise on questions of industrial fatigue, the physical health and physical efficiency of workers in munition factories and workshops."

This Committee, in a series of reports, demonstrated that from the point of view of maximum production alone, excessive hours did not pay; and that the efficiency of workers had been lowered by overwork.

That the nation cannot afford to continue the shortsighted policy of over-taxing its munition workers was the Committee's conclusion.

"Misguided efforts to stimulate workers to feverish activity," reports the Committee, "are likely to be as damaging to the desired result as the cheers of partisans would be, if they encouraged a long-distance runner to a futile sprint early in his race. . . . In war time the workmen will be willing, as they are showing in so many directions, to forego comfort and to work nearer the margin of accumulating fatigue than in time of peace, but the country cannot afford the extravagance of paying for work done

during incapacity from fatigue just because so many hours are spent upon it, or the further extravagance of urging armies of workmen toward relative incapacity by neglect of physiological law. . . . *Taking the country as a whole, the Committee are bound to record their impression that the munition workers in general have been allowed to reach a state of reduced efficiency and lowered health which might have been avoided without the reduction of output by attention to the details of daily and weekly rest.*"

Evidence convinced the Committee that seven-day work is a mistaken procedure with any class of workers.

"Harm to Body and Mind"

Urging that proper restrictions for women workers are needed, the Committee reports: "Conditions of work are accepted without question and without complaint which, immediately detrimental to output, would, if continued, be ultimately disastrous to health. *It is for the nation to safeguard the devotion of its workers by its foresight and watchfulness lest irreparable harm be done to body and mind both in this generation and the next.*"

Measures to secure good sanitary conditions, lighting, ventilation, and the prevention of industrial accidents and diseases, are likewise essential to maintain efficiency, the Committee finds.

According to Mr. P. Sargant Florence of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the conclusions of the Committee have resulted in a tendency to reduce hours, in the general abandonment of Sunday work, in some substitution of eight for twelve-hour shifts in continuous industries, and in improved provisions for health, comfort and safety. In the opinion of Mr. Florence, "the nation's needs would have been better served in the long run, even from the point of view of maximum output alone, if pre-war standards and restrictions had been observed without change."

This illuminating testimony from the practical experience of a nation that has been organizing all of its resources, so as most effectively to meet the ordeal of war, offers a timely lesson to the United States.

AN AMERICAN DANGER

Letting Down the Bars

War orders in the United States since 1914 have been followed by indications of the same industrial policy that the British government found to be mistaken and detrimental to military efficiency.

In American munition plants, hastily erected or expanded to meet the heavy demands, workers have been rushed without ade-

quate restrictions on hours or sufficient protection against the hazards of accident and disease.

Investigation of conditions under which war supplies have been manufactured in this country shows a breaking down of restrictive standards.

Women Workers Threatened

Women are particularly affected. It has been found that in order to meet the demand of speed and a large output of munitions, women have been working long hours and at night; and that they have been put to work near or with explosives in ways which sometimes mean accident, industrial poisoning, or other illness.

An extensive study of this problem in ten states, including almost all the munition factories, was made for the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics by Dr. Alice Hamilton. She reports: "*Everything that was needed for rapid production was pushed; and everything that was needed for the protection of the workers was postponed.*"

This backward tendency is not confined to munition plants. It has been manifested in other connections. For instance, on March 23, 1917, the New York State Industrial Commission exempted the Curtiss Aeroplane & Motor Corporation from the one-day-rest-in-seven law, and permitted it to "work such men as are exclusively engaged in the manufacture of aeroplanes and aeroplane motors seven days a week, and as many hours as the employees wish for a period of six months."

Any legal exemptions granted for extraordinary emergencies should be only for the briefest possible period and with conditions stated in specific form. They should be issued only after official investigation, due notice, and public hearing.

A bill was introduced in the New York legislature in March, 1917, to exclude from the protective provisions of the labor law with regard to working hours all women and minors over the age of sixteen who are "engaged in the manufacture of military supplies of any sort for the United States or any state." *That bill, if adopted, would have opened the way for the unrestricted labor of women and children over sixteen.* There are indications that similar measures dangerous to the effectiveness of America's industrial mobilization are contemplated elsewhere.

LABOR'S ATTITUDE IN AMERICA TOWARD THE WAR

Pledge Given to Nation by American Federation of Labor

The International Socialist Review, April, 1917, page 618.

We, the officers of the national and internationl trades unions of America in national conference assembled, in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of

liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our republic.

In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

But despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the republic of the United States of America against its enemies, whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of labor, justice, freedom and humanity to devoutly and patriotically give like service.

A Declaration by the Industrial Workers of the World

We, the Industrial Workers of the World, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirm our adherence to the principles of Industrial Unionism, and rededicate ourselves to the unflinching prosecution of the struggle for the abolition of wage slavery, and the realization of our ideals in Industrial Democracy.

With the European war for conquest and exploitation raging and destroying the lives, class consciousness and unity of the workers, and the ever growing agitation for military preparedness clouding the main issues, and delaying the realization of our ultimate aim with patriotic, and, therefore, capitalistic aspirations, we openly declare ourselves determined opponents of all nationalistic sectionalism or patriotism, and the militarism preached and supported by our enemy, the Capitalist Class. We condemn all wars, and, for the prevention of such, we proclaim the anti-militarist propaganda in time of peace, thus promoting class solidarity among the workers of the entire world, and, in time of war, the general strike in all industries.

We extend assurances of both moral and material support to all the workers who suffer at the hands of the Capitalist Class for their adhesion to their principles, and call on all workers to unite themselves with us, that the reign of the exploiters may cease and this earth be made fair through the establishment of the Industrial Democracy.

OFFICIAL JOURNALS OF INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

B

Bakers' Journal—
212 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Barbers' Journal—
222 East Michigan street, Indianapolis, Ind.

Blacksmiths' Journal—
1270-85 Monon building, Chicago, Ill.
Boilermakers' Journal—
Law building, Kansas City, Kans.
Bookbinder, The International—
222 East Michigan street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Brauerei Arbeiter Zeitung (Brewery Workers)—
2347-51 Vine street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer—
University Park building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Bridgemen's Magazine—
American Central Life building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Broom Maker—
851 King place, Chicago.
Buchdrucker Zeitung (German Typographical)—
Newton Claypool building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Butcher Workman—
212 May avenue, Syracuse, N. Y.

C

Carpenter, The—
Carpenter's building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Cigarmakers' Journal—
Monon building, Chicago, Ill.
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Journal—
62 East Fourth street, New York, N. Y.
Commercial Telegraphers' Journal—
Transportation building, Chicago, Ill.
Coopers' Journal—
Bishop building, Kansas City, Kans.

E

Electrical Worker—
Reisch building, Springfield, Ill.
Elevator Constructor—
Sixteenth and Chestnut streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

F

Flint, The American (Flint Glass Workers)—
Ohio building, Toledo, Ohio.
Fur Worker—
132 Fourth street, Long Island City, N. Y.

G

Garment Workers' (United) Weekly Bulletin—
Bible House, New York, N. Y.
Glove Workers' Bulletin—
166 West Washington street, Chicago, Ill.
Granite Cutters' Journal—
Hancock building, Quincy, Mass.

H

Horseshoers' Journal—
Second National Bank building, Cincinnati, Ohio.

I

Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amalgamated Journal—
501 House building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

L

Ladies' Garment Workers' Journal—
32 Union Square, New York City.
Lather, The—
401 Superior building, Cleveland, Ohio.
Leather Workers' Journal—
504 Postal building, Kansas City, Mo.
Lithographers' Journal—
309 Broadway, New York City.
Locomotive Engineers' Journal—
B. of L. E. building, Cleveland, Ohio.
Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine—
Indianapolis, Ind.
Longshoreman—
702 Brisbane building, Buffalo, N. Y.

M

Machinists' Journal—
A. F. of L. building, Washington, D. C.
Maintenance-of-Way Employes' Advance Advocate—
27 Putnam avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Marine Engineer, The American—
113 Plume street, Norfolk, Va.
Metal Polishers' Journal—
409 Neave building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Mine Workers' Journal, United (Coal Miners)—
1102-1109 Merchants' National Bank building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Miners' Magazine (Metal Miners)—
Denham building, Denver Col.
Mixer and Server (Bartenders and Hotel Employes)—
Commercial-Tribune building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Journal, International—
Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Motorman and Conductor—
104 East High street, Detroit, Mich.

N

National, The (Window Glass Workers)—
419 Electric building, Cleveland, Ohio.

P

Painter and Decorator—
Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
Paper Makers' Journal—
127 North Pearl street, Albany, N. Y.
Pattern Makers' Journal—
Second National Bank building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Paving Cutters' Journal—
Lock Box 27, Albion, N. Y.
Photo-Engraver, The American—
6111 Bishop street, Chicago, Ill.
Plasterer—
608 Washington Bank building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Plate Printer (Steel and Copper Plate Printers)—
414 Washington Loan and Trust Company building, Washington, D. C.
Player, The (White Rats Actors' Union)—
227 West Forty-sixth street, New York, N. Y.
Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters' Journal—
Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Potters' Herald—
West Sixth street, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Pressman, The American (Printing Pressmen and Assistants)—
Rogersville, Tenn.

Q

Quarry Workers' Journal—
Box 394, Barre, Vt.

R

Railroad Telegrapher—
Star building, St. Louis, Mo.
Railroad Trainman—
1207 American Trust building, Cleveland, Ohio.
Railway Carmen's Journal—
508 Hall building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Clerk—
Second National Bank building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Railway Conductor—
Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Retail Clerks' International Advocate—
Levering building, Main street, Lafayette, Ind.

S

Seaman's Journal, Coast—
59 Clay street, San Francisco, Cal.
Sheet Metal Workers' Journal—
407 Nelson building, Kansas City, Mo.
Shoe Workers' Journal—
246 Summer street, Boston, Mass.

Stationary Firemen's Journal—
3615 North Twenty-fourth street, Omaha, Neb.
Steam Engineer, The International—
6334 Yale avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Steam Shovel and Dredge—
105 West Monroe street, Chicago, Ill.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Journal—
2421 O street, Omaha, Neb.
Stone Cutters' Journal—
American Central Life building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Stove Mounters and Range Workers' Journal—
1210 Jefferson avenue, East, Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Journal—
326 Brisbane building, Buffalo, N. Y.

T

Tailor, The (Journeyman Tailors)—
Sixty-seventh street and Stony Island avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers' Magazine—
222 East Michigan street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Textile Worker—
86-87 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
Tile Layers and Helpers' Journal—
119 Federal street, N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Tobacco Workers' Journal—
Iroquois Life building, Louisville, Ky.
Travelers' Goods and Novelty Workers' Bulletin—
191 Boyd street, Oshkosh, Wis.
Typographical Journal—
Newton Claypool building, Indianapolis, Ind.

U

Union Leader, The (A. A. of S. and E. R. E. of A)—
Unity building, 127 North Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.
Union Postal Clerk—
A. F. of L. building, Washington, D. C.

W

Wood Carver, The International—
10 Carlisle street, Grove Hall, Boston, Mass.

LABOR PAPERS

Alabama.

Birmingham—Labor Advocate, 206 Title Guarantee building.

Arizona

Phoenix—The Arizona Labor Journal, 238 East Washington street.

Arkansas.

Fort Smith—The Union Sentinel, 406 Garrison avenue.
Hot Springs—Union Labor Advocate.
Little Rock—Union Labor Bulletin, 315 Scott street.

California.

Bakersfield—Union Labor Journal, Labor Temple.
El Centro—Labor Monitor.
Eureka—The Labor News, 738 Second street.
Fresno—Labor News.
Los Angeles—The Citizen, Union Labor Temple.
Oakland—Alameda County Workman, 1121 Washington street.
Tri-City Labor Review, 812 Broadway.
The Western Butcher, 634 Thirteenth street.
Sacramento—The Tribune.
San Diego—Labor Bulletin, 721 West Market street.
The Labor Leader, 716 First street.
San Francisco—Labor Clarion, Labor Temple.
Organized Labor, 1122 Mission street.
San José—The Union, 173 West Santa Clara Street.
Stockton—Labor Review, 28 South California Street.

Colorado.

Colorado Springs—Labor News, 112 East Cucharras street.
Denver—Denver Labor Bulletin, Box 107.
Pueblo—Labor Advocate, 108 West Second street.

Connecticut.

Hartford—Labor Standard, 284 Asylum street.
New Haven—Connecticut Labor Press, 44 Crown street.

Delaware.

Wilmington—Labor Herald, 415 Shipley street.

District of Columbia.

Washington—The Federal Employee, A. F. of L. building.
The Trade Unionist, 604 Fifth street northwest.

Florida.

Jacksonville—The Artisan, 107 Clay street.
Miami—Labor Journal, 916 Avenue D.
Tampa—The Tampa Citizen, 1110½ Franklin street.
Ybor City, Tampa—El Internacional (in interest of local Cigarmakers' Union).

Georgia.

Atlanta—Journal of Labor, 929 Grant building.
Augusta—The Labor Review, 21 Campbell building.
Waycross—The Labor Index, Southern building.

Idaho.

Boise—The Gem Worker, Ninth and Main streets.

Illinois.

Aurora—The Fox River Leader.
Bloomington—The Trades Review.
Chicago—Illinois State Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter, 166 West Washington street.
Life and Labor, 139 North Clark street.
Danville—Labor Leader, 109 East Main street.
Decatur—Industrial Union News, P. O. Box 293.
East St. Louis—Illinois Labor Press, 210 Arcade building.
Galesburg—Labor News, 56 North Cherry street.
Joliet—The Tribune, Fargo building.
Ottawa—Illinois Valley Tradesman, 203 Claus building.
Peoria—Labor Gazette, 225 North Adams street.
Labor News, 326 Harrison street.
Quincy—The Labor Advocate, 600 Hampshire street.
Rock Island—Tri-City Labor Review, Industrial Home building.
Rockford—Labor News.
Springfield—Illinois Tradesman, 407 Myers building.

Indiana

Evansville—The Advocate, 409 Sycamore street.
Fort Wayne—The Worker.
Indianapolis—Indiana Union Herald, 45 United building.
The Union, 69-70 When building.
Lafayette—Labor News, Box 75.
Richmond—Labor Herald, 14 South Seventh street.
South Bend—The Interurban Journal.
Whiting—Lake County Labor Advocate.
The Suburban.

Iowa.

Boone—The Independent, 810 Story street.
Cedar Rapids—The Tribune, 210 Third avenue.
Des Moines—Iowa Unionist, 221 Youngerman building.
Dubuque—Labor Leader, Main and Sixth streets.
Lyons—Tri-City Labor Voice, Box 96.
Marshalltown—Marshalltown Bulletin.
Muscatine—Labor's Voice, Box 2.
Sioux City—The Union Advocate, 410 Fifth street.

Kansas.

Topeka—Kansas Trade Unionist, 113 East Eighth street.

Kentucky.

Louisville—Journal of Labor, 321 West Green street.
New Era, 130 Third avenue.

Louisiana.

Gretna—Labor Advocate, Second and Lavoisier streets.
New Orleans—Labor Record, 320 St. Charles street.

Maryland.

Baltimore—Labor Leader, Baltimore and North streets.
Trades Unionist, Knickerbocker building.

Massachusetts.

Boston—Union Trades Label, 79 Sudberry street.
Brockton—The Diamond, 74 Commercial street.
Holyoke—The Artisan, 214 Maple street.
Worcester—The Labor News, 48 Southbridge street.

Michigan.

Bay City—The Industrial Herald, 309 Ninth street.
Detroit—Labor News, Griswold and Larned streets.
Grand Rapids—The Observer, 112 Louis street.
Jackson—Square Deal, 145 West Pearl street.
Lansing—Michigan Unionist, 211 Prudden building.

Minnesota.

Duluth—Labor World, 610 Manhattan building.
Minneapolis—Labor Review, 420 Sixth street, south.
St. Paul—Minnesota Union Advocate.

Missouri.

Hannibal—The Labor Press.
Joplin—Joplin Labor Tribune, 827 Main street.
Kansas City—Labor Herald, 408 Admiral boulevard.
Saint Joseph—The Saint Joseph Union.
Sedalia—Railway Federationist.
Springfield—The Springfield Laborer.

Montana

Billings—Yellowstone Labor News, Babcock block.
Butte—The Free Lance, 114 East Broadway.

Nebraska.

Lincoln—The Nebraska Federationist.
Omaha—Omaha Unionist, 332 Brandeis Theater building.
Western Laborer, 502 Barker block.

Nevada.

Reno—Nevada Federationist, 212 Virginia street.

New Hampshire.

Manchester—The New Hampshire Worker.

New Jersey.

Jersey City—Labor Review of Hudson County, 2277 Boulevard.
Newark—Union Labor Bulletin, 68 South Orange avenue.
Perth Amboy—The Labor News Weekly.
Trenton—Trades Union Advocate, Box 529.

New York.

Albany—Albany Federationist, 223 Arkay building.
Official Record, 45 Second street.
Auburn—Labor Weekly, 22 North street.
Buffalo—The Labor World, 626 Ellicott Square.
Newburgh—Orange County Workman.
New York City—New York Union Printer, 8 Reade street.
Rochester—Labor Herald, 421 Cox building.
Schenectady—The Empire State Leader.
Syracuse—Industrial Weekly.
Troy—Legislative Labor News, 399 River street.
Yonkers—The Workman, 63 Main street.

North Carolina.

Asheville—Labor Advocate.
Greensboro—The State Labor News.

Ohio.

Akron—The People, 21 South Main street.
Canton—The Union Reporter.
Cincinnati—The Chronicle, 1311 Walnut street.
The Labor Advocate, 20 Thoms building.
Cleveland—The Cleveland Citizen, 1125 Oregon avenue, northeast.
Cleveland Federationist, 716 Vincent avenue.
Columbus—Labor News, 165½ North High street.
Dayton—The Labor Review, 32 South Jefferson street.
Hamilton—Butler County Press, 326 Market street.
Springfield—The Tribune, 138 West High street.
Toledo—Union Leader, Central Labor Union hall.
Youngstown—Labor Record, 211 K. of C. building.
Zanesville—Labor Journal, Sixth and South streets.

Oklahoma.

Oklahoma City—Oklahoma Federationist.

Oregon.

Portland—Oregon Labor Press.

Pennsylvania.

Allentown—The Labor Herald.
Beaver—Beaver Valley Labor News.

Pennsylvania (Cont.)

Coaldale—The Toilers' Defense, 20-24 East street.
Easton—Easton Journal, 234 Church street.
Erie—Union Labor Journal.
Lancaster—Labor Leader, 38 Market street.
Philadelphia—Trades Union News, 619 Filbert street.
Pittsburgh—National Labor Journal, Union Labor Temple.
Pittston—Industrial Advocate.
Uniontown—The Working World.

South Carolina.

Charleston—The Charleston Review, 50 Queen street.
Greenville—Labor Press, 307 Westfield street.

Tennessee.

Chattanooga—Labor World, 735 Chestnut street.
Knoxville—Voice of Labor, 208 Empire building.
Memphis—Transportation and Labor Review, Southern Express building.
Nashville—Labor Advocate, 335½ Third avenue, north.

Texas.

Austin—The Austin Forum, 204 West Sixth street.
Dallas—The Craftsman, 1802½ Jackson street.
The Toiler, Labor Temple.
Denison—Labor Journal, 331 West Main street.
El Paso—Labor Advocate, 409 Texas street.
Forth Worth—Union Banner.
Texas Railway Journal, Box 155.
Galveston—Labor Dispatch, 212 Tremont street.
Houston—Houston Labor Journal.
Texas Carpenter.
Port Arthur—Port Arthur-Beaumont Labor Dispatch.
San Antonio—The Weekly Dispatch, Trades Council hall.
Temple—The Wage Earner.
Waco—The Union Standard, 415 Washington street.
Wichita Falls—The Union Leader.

Utah.

Salt Lake City—Utah Labor News, Labor Temple.

Virginia.

Richmond—The Railroader, Campbell avenue and Commerce street.
The Square Deal, Old Dominion Trust building.
Roanoke—Industrial Era, 101 Commerce street.

Washington.

Bellingham—Labor Unionist, 1307 Twelfth street.
Everett—The Labor Journal, Labor Temple.

Washington (Cont.)

Hoquiam—Southwest Washington Labor Press, Box 98.
Seattle—Union Record, Labor Temple.
Spokane—Labor World, 311 Sprague avenue.
Tacoma—Labor Advocate, P. O. Box 1223.
Walla Walla—Garden City Monitor, 5½ East Main street.

West Virginia.

Charlestown—The West Virginia Federationist, P. O. Box 1106.
Wheeling—The Wheeling Majority, 1506 Market street.

Wisconsin.

Marinette—The Twin City Laborer.
Racine—Labor Advocate, 428 Wisconsin street.

Wyoming.

Cheyenne—Wyoming Labor Journal.

AUSTRALIA

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Sydney—The Co-operator.
The Australian Worker.

New Zealand.

Wellington—The Maoriland Worker.

Queensland.

Brisbane—The Worker.

Victoria.

Melbourne—The Labor Call.

CANADA

British Columbia.

Vancouver—The B. C. Federationist, Labor Temple.

Manitoba.

Winnipeg—The Voice, 211 Rupert street.

Ontario.

Hamilton—Labor News, 48 Market street.
The Barber, 48 Market street.
Ottawa—The Canadian Plate Printer, 76 Preston street.
Toronto—Industrial Banner, Labor Temple.

Quebec.

Montreal—The Labor World (Le Monde Ouvier), 2 St. Paul street, east.

ENGLAND

Leicester—Monthly Report of National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.
Manchester—The Cotton Factory Times.
Typographical Circular.

PORTO RICO

San Juan—Justicia.

SCOTLAND

Glasgow—Associated Iron Moulders of Scotland Monthly Report.

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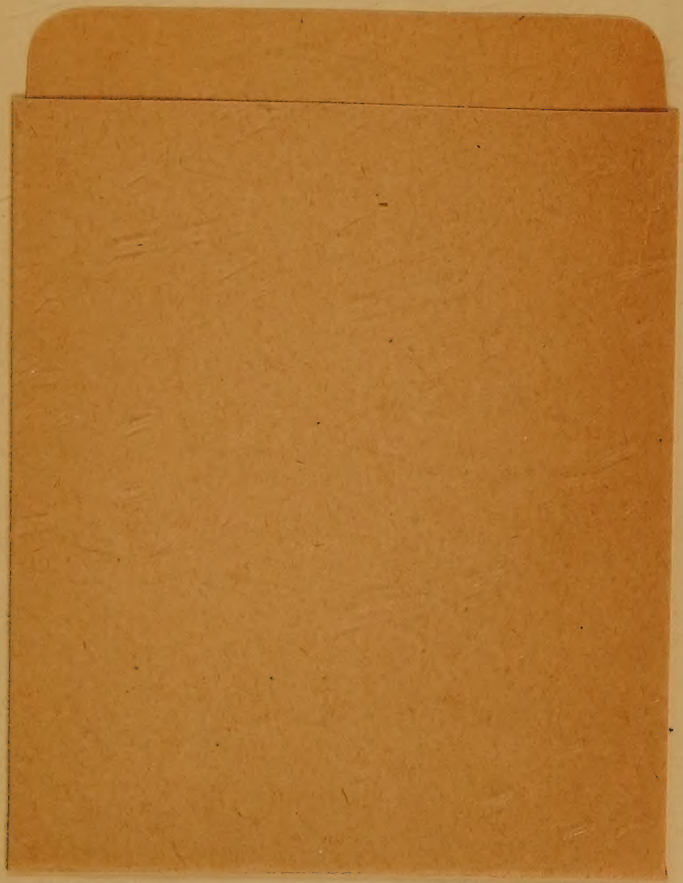

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